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SPECULATING

On the Lives and Limbs of the Nation's Volunteers.

Men Who are out to Fight for What they Consider Right under the American Flag are Made to Starve by Politicians Who are Using the War for their Own Purposes and are Coining Patriotism into Money.

A District of Columbia volunteer writes to a Washington, D. C., paper the following letter:

"I chanced to read recently an article in regard to the District Volunteer Relief Association, which was organized by Dr. Couden, and I cannot refrain from commenting on it. It appears that the object of the organization is to send the District boys clothing and other necessities. That is truly a Christian move, but much depends upon what are considered necessities. Food is not included, I find. Why is this?

"Will they clothe our bodies and allow us to starve? How ridiculous it must sound to those at home when I state the true condition of affairs, for WE ARE STARVING RIGHT IN OUR OWN RICH COUNTRY, FOR WHOSE FLAG WE ARE FIGHTING.

"And the fault is with the commissary department which is made up of men of political pulls. I speak only for our company, though our regiment fares the same. Since leaving home we have had fresh bread once and fresh meat twice. Fat meat, hard tack and coffee constitute our regular rations, though the meat is often missing. Such food in this hot climate, with the hard work imposed, is enough to down any man. Many are unfit for service already, and if this state of affairs lasts much longer the men will fall an easy prey to the horrible diseases prevalent. Half-starved men are no more fit to battle disease than to face the Spaniards.

"I cite one case to show that something is wrong with our commissary department. Forty thousand dollars' worth of potatoes rotted a few miles away from our camp recently. The men did not know that these potatoes were there, but the commissary department must have known it."

The tale of official peculation and capitalist political scampishness told by these simple lines is told fully and thoroughly.

"Patriotism" is here exhibited from its two sides:

First, the side of the confiding volunteer, the bona fide patriot, who loves his country and his people, wishes to add lustre to them by hastening to succor other peoples in distress: the volunteer whose virtuous sentiments are exploited, and whose good will is used to his own undoing.

Second, the side of the bogus patriot; the capitalist politician and élite, who uses the word patriotism as bait for his hook, and with that hook tears the entrails of his fellow citizens in his greed to "get there."

Out of the light in which patriotism is thus thrust into, true Patriotism is bound to come triumphant. The noble sentiments of our volunteers, now perverted to improper purposes by the ignoble "patriotism" of the capitalists, is bound to assert themselves. Then, woe to the "patriots" who have all along been speculating upon the term!

In St. Louis

Several Excellent Signs of Progress.

ST. LOUIS, Mo., July 6.—At the meeting of the so-called Social Democracy held on June, the 24th, it was decided to withdraw from the so-called Social Democratic party until the constitution and platform are forthcoming. In other words, they wanted to find out where they are at. Some of the members said: "Mr. Chairman, we are going to pieces." (They evidently knew what they were talking about). Others said: "No, we are not going to pieces, we are going to grow, and if possible take in the Socialist Labor party" (no applause). The expelled members of the S. L. P. were furious. Resolutions and motions were offered until the atmosphere was thick with them. The chairman was in a predicament. To tell it all would occupy too much space. One can guess the rest.

The local Cigarmakers' Union passed a resolution to fine every member $10 who distributes the "Arm and Hammer," the official organ of the Missouri State Committee of the Socialist Labor party, because said paper bears the label of the S. T. & L. A. The passing of that resolution is good evidence that the Alliance is making great strides forward. One can see here the finish of the Labor Fakir.

The English translation of Karl Marx' "Eighteenth Brumaire," that recently ran through THE PEOPLE, is now to be had bound in an elegant volume of 78 pages, with Marx' picture as frontispiece. This work is of great value. No Socialist, even though he be no student, and no student even though he be no Socialist, can afford to be without it. Apply Labor News Co., 64 E. 4th street, N. Y. city. Price 25 cents.

Philadelphia, Pa.

Comrade Max Keller, 1016 Hope street, has been duly appointed agent for THE PEOPLE.

All subscribers are urgently requested to settle for their subscription by him if in arrears. Give him a hand in agitating and gathering new subscribers.

DETAILED FACTS

On the Recent Elections to the Belgian Parliament.

The below is a letter, by a Socialist Labor party member of the Belgian Parliament, written to his brother in Pittsburg, Pa. It gives an interesting account of the recent elections in Belgium, in one of the Parliamentary districts.

"Dear Francis—Despite all the chicaneries to suppress the vote and intimidate the workingmen, despite the struggle for life that we have to carry on against the Liberal-Clerical reaction, we come out first pop with a formidable majority. And yet every means was employed against us; for instance, at the last moment anonymous circulars were issued against Callewaert and myself, signed "Sincere Socialists." Thus you see that the most ignoble tricks were resorted to. But it did them no good. Callewaert, for instance, the candidate who, in 1894, polled the smallest vote, polled this year the largest of all.

"Here are the final results in my district:

"Available vote	124,965
"Absolute majority	62,483

"These were distributed between the candidates of three parties running this year as follows:

"LIBERALS.

"Cleaux	21,763
"Coppir	21,121
"Deprez	21,878
"Derrandian	21,451
"Fontain	21,451
"Fourcoult	21,590
"Harriez	21,563
"Heymans	21,333

"CLERICALS.

"Boulvin	34,184
"De la Serra	34,112
"Dermine	33,900
"Despy	33,825
"Levie	33,985
"L'Olivier	33,714
"Porinoz	34,221
"Thibaut	34,104

"SOCIALISTS.

"Callewaert	67,137
"Caviot	66,489
"Destrée	66,696
"Fugnarl	66,658
"Furrement	66,702
"Lambillette	66,517
"Leonard	66,389
"Vandervelde	67,107

"Thus you see WE HAVE A MAJORITY OVER THE TWO COMBINED PARTIES OF OVER 10,000 VOTES."

At McKinley's Home.

S. L. P. Convention in Stark County, O.

CANTON, O., June 26.—The S. L. P. of Stark County held a convention at Massillon last night and nominated the following ticket:

Representative:
ROB. LEGG, of Sippo.

County Clerk:
NIC. WELTLICH, of Massillon.

Auditor:
CHAS. PFIRRMAN, of Canton.

Commissioner;
L. P. WEFLER, of Pigeon Run.

Inf. Director:
W. SUTTON, of East Greenville.

Surveyor:
J. C. DAGER, of Canton.

For Congress (18th District):
Subject to approval of Sections in Columbiana and Mahoning Co.:
SAM. BORTON, of Valley.

The platform and resolutions adopted by the State Convention were endorsed and the following resolutions passed:

WHEREAS, There are numerous publications in this country which claim to aim to teach Socialism, and these papers, when asked to commit themselves either for or against the S. L. P., either refuse to do so, or, when driven into a corner, oppose the tactics of the S. L. P. and heap abuse and vilification upon trusted members of the party;

WHEREAS, It is necessary, in order to build up a sound Socialist movement, to have a press which can be relied on; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we heartily endorse the course pursued by THE PEOPLE, "New Charter" and other official organs of the S. L. P., and we deem it the duty of every member of the S. L. P. to help to increase the circulation of our official organs, this being the best way to make class-conscious Socialists.

We endorse the S. T. & L. A. as the only economic organization of labor recognizing the class struggle, and thereby aiding the political movement of the working class, and we shall use our efforts to organize locals wherever possible.

We congratulate our Comrades in France, Belgium and Germany on the magnificent gains made by them at the late elections, not forgetting the splendid showing our New Bedford, Mass., Comrades made at the special Congressional election held there May 31st. This will urge us on to work harder for our common cause, viz.: The overthrow of the present cannibalistic system of Capitalism, and the substitution therefore of the Socialist Co-operative Commonwealth.

Section Canton was re-elected as the seat of the Central Committee, and the same Section nominated as seat of District Committee.

Section Canton to-day elected the County Central Committee: John Juergens, H. Lavin, Mat. Marz, Thos. Turnbull and Jno. Farrar.

All Sections in this district wishing petition lists will apply to

JOHN JUERGENS,
1106 Hight street, Canton, O.

The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

SOCIAL CONTRASTS

Which We Are Striving to Wipe Out.

Look at this Picture,

Bulletin of Luxury!

One of the show-places in New York is the corridor and parlors of a fashionable hotel from half-past seven to eight o'clock, when the large dining-rooms of the same hotel are receiving and delivering their diners. A spectator from another city, however, who loitered there recently for a first visit, declares that the sight was anything but inspiring. "I was never," she says, "so impressed with the fact that the animal in humanity is still very large, as when I watched men and women going in and coming out from dinner. Many of the faces were cross and discontented; evidently their owners were hungry and not taking any pains to rise above it. But it was much worse after dinner. I really looked hard for a refined high-bred face, which carried an expression beyond that of having satisfied animal longings. Most of the diners were flushed with over-eating, if not with wine. More than one acted as if a lingering bit of the dinner was still in the mouth, and some—this is a very high-class hotel, and one supposedly frequented by persons of good manners—stopped at a little table, which the proprietor has had the good taste to partly conceal by a tall palm, and calmly picked out a toothpick from a holder. Perhaps I expected too much, but it seemed to me it was a good place for a woman to be ashamed of her sex. The young women were vain and forward, and the old women were overdressed and greatly lacking in refinement. The type of men I saw there was not a lofty one either, and altogether there was little to encourage in the observer of his kind the belief that our social civilization has made serious advances."

Within the walls surrounding St. Gabriel's Convent, at Peekskill, Miss Daisy Post, society butterfly, lives the austere life of a nun—for a while.

Around her are many of her friends of the gay world. Hourly she has such intimates as Mrs. James Marsh Barrett, a bride of a few weeks; Mrs. Edward Delafield, Miss Margaret Stuyvesant, Miss Ellen Morgan, Mrs. Gabrielle G. Clendennin, Miss Mary Morgan, Miss Katherine King and many others, all demurely dressed in sombre garb—but well fed.

But there is no chattering when these friends meet. They walk about the beautiful park surrounding the convent, with eyes bent upon the ground. Absolute silence is insisted upon, and these women, so given to talking brightly and cleverly on many topics, obey the rule to the letter.

The convent belongs to the Sisters of St. Mary, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and its management is conducted on lines closely akin to the nunneries of the Roman Catholic Church. One of the few differences is that mass is chanted in English instead of Latin.

Four days ago the annual retreat began, and it will end to-morrow. One hundred society women entered the convent Monday, "leaving at the portals all thoughts" of wordly ambitions, social conquests, dress and the kindred affairs which interest them fifty-one weeks in the year, but feeling quite happy at the knowledge that in one week all that will return to them.

Prayer, meditation and religious exercises have been their only avocation since Monday. The day's work had been carefully planned for them, and they follow it strictly. Each of the associate sisters—such they are called in the convent—sleeps in a little cell by herself. Its only furniture is an iron cot, a washstand and a tiny mirror, a single chair and a rug—all of which they enjoyed all the more knowing the luxuries that awaited them a week later.

Her day is as follows: Celebration of mass, 7 a. m.; breakfast at 8; terse and sext, 9:45; first meditation, 10; instruction, 12; dinner at 1; recreation for two hours; nones at 3; second meditation, 3:15; vespers at 5; tea at 6; third meditation at 7; compline at 8:30.

Such is the day that Miss Daisy Post has been leading without change for the past week.

Just how complete the change is that the society woman meets in St. Gabriel's retreat can be partially understood by a glance at the ordinary day's doings of Miss Daisy Post when she is in the outer world.

Miss Post is a daughter of Mr. and Mrs. William Post and a niece on the maternal side of Mrs. Fred W. Vanderbilt. She is a handsome, sprightly girl, and is regarded as one of the cleverest in New York's smart set. She was one of the bridesmaids at the wedding which made Consuelo Vanderbilt the Duchess of Marlborough.

A year ago it was rumored she was to marry Bradley Martin, Jr., and that the engagement would be announced at the famous fancy-dress ball given by the young man's mother. The prophets who had circulated these rumors were proved false by subsequent events. Miss Post was the first American girl presented by Ambassador Hay at the Queen's drawing room, and there neatly bent her knee before the Queen.

Instead of arising at 6:30 a. m., as she is doing at St. Gabriel's, Miss Post ordinarily gets up at 11 o'clock. Then, instead of hurrying into a nun's dress to attend early mass, her maid prepares her bath, and a few minutes later serves her with a delicious little breakfast of fruit, chocolate and toast. Then a good hour is spent in dressing. While the maid arranges her hair she reads her morning mail, and glances through the newspapers just to glean enough of the events of the day to permit her to talk of them.

A ride in the park, or a visit to modistes and milliners; then luncheon; a drive in the park or a round of calls, consumes the time until the hour for dressing for dinner comes.

And then at This.

Bulletin of Misery!

This letter appeared in a recent issue of the Washington, D. C. "Times":

How is it that a young man residing in Washington finds it next to impossible to make a living in this city, while outsiders, without much apparent effort, find assistance both in business circles and in the District government?

It is not my design to include all commercial and governmental Washington in this charge, but I wish to state, if your columns are open to wronged citizens, what I, a life resident of Washington, have had to contend with.

Being unable to procure steady employment, the only other means of livelihood I could think of was to sell products of my own handiwork. As the law required a peddling license for venders of manufactured articles, I set out with, first, a dirt eradicator, then with a trouser's stretcher, cement and similar articles of my own manufacture. Soon I discovered I could not sell at the doors of residents, the occupants seeming to consider a pedestrian salesman a nuisance, so I tried to sell my goods on street corners. The police were antagonistic to such business, and, not wishing to place my liberty in jeopardy, I tried canvassing. At this I nearly died of starvation. Now I am back at the "sell-at-odd-places" business, and only make from 25 to 75 cents a day. As a consequence, I am nearly always penniless and hungry. AN AMERICAN.

In one tenement district covering four St. Louis blocks 3,125 children are crowded without a breathing place.

Poison is their life draught. They breathe it night and day until it becomes a part of their physical and moral make-up. In a radius of four blocks from the Ashley Building at Third and O'Fallon streets there are 3,125 children who have no playground.

The only space available for such miserable relaxation as these children of the tenements can have is an unspeakably filthy vacated lot back of the Ashley Building, between Collins and Third streets.

Garbage and refuse of a character that accumulates quickly where there is not even room for cleanliness litter this miserable substitute for a playground.

No man knows the needs of these children better than Sergt. Patrick Maher, of the Fourth Police District. For years he has walked in the neighborhood.

"There is a crying need for a playground in this district," said Sergt. Maher. "In the Ashley Building alone there are 250 children. In some blocks in the neighborhood there are 400. Filthy alleys and streets traversed by electric cars and wagons are their romping places. It is no wonder some of them grow up morally and physically warped, is it? The only wonder is they are not worse.

"I can think of no more worthy charity than the furnishing of a tract of ground where these tots might learn to play the games or normal children and enjoy fresh air and the sight of grass and waving trees.

"Just think of it," said the Sergeant. "Some of these children have never had a baseball in their hands, have never seen a kite, have never spun a top, or played 'old man's out.' All they can learn is badness. Their diversion is throwing or watching the police make arrests."

Miss Izella Wetherill, a charity worker in the district, said:

"The needs of the Ashley Building children could not well be exaggerated. These hot evenings they crowd the ill-smelling lot and make a miserable effort to enjoy themselves.

"One game they have, and one that takes the place of ten-pins with the boys—is that of placing old tin cans, broken water pails and old bottles on the top of some rusty boilers lying in the lot and throwing stones at them.

"Another is that of pelting with stones the hundreds of rats that infest a lower room, used for ashes and garbage by the tenant dwellers. This affords them amusement for hours, and while they are so engaged they are breathing the foulest air imaginable.

"They need a playground where the grass can grow and the flowers bloom and where games can be provided for them, so that they will be enabled to breathe good air and stay off the streets."

J. H. Fay, Principal of the Shields School, 1119 North Seventh street, said:

"The most necessary thing to-day in the tenement districts is a playground. We haven't even a schoolyard large enough for the children to play games, and no facilities whatever for out-door amusement.

"There are comparatively few children in the densely populated tenement blocks that come to school. As an example, we only have four pupils out of the 250 children in the Ashley Building. These children must go some place, and where but on the streets or in the alleys? These little ones are the future citizens of St. Louis, and it is a terrible thing not to train them by opening up opportunities to become good citizens."

THAT "CONVENTION."

Nonsense, "Americanism." Superlativeness, Back-numberism.

The account in the "Social Democrat" of the first and last annual convention of the "Debs Democracy" is an extremely amusing bit of literature. For swagger and bluff combined with a charming naiveté it compares favorably with the foremost of the yellow journals when they were at their best, while Schley and Sampson were chasing Cervera, when day after day the announcement was made in scaring bulletins that actually "Schley was ordered to capture or destroy the Spanish fleet." And as to modesty, General Bombastes is not in it. The whole thing is in the superlative, adjectives, nouns, and verbs. "Never has there been such a convention, "it was the greatest Socialist convention," etc. Delegates came from the farthest East, even from New Hampshire (viz., F. G. R. Gordon, who worked for the S. D. while in the pay of the S. L. P.); 94 branches were represented by 70 delegates. Several delegates had several votes each. None of these branches contained less than five members. All of them were recent formations, some of them very recent, so to say fin de siècle, formed according to National Secretary Kellher, "for the purpose of packing the convention." "The average of ability was very high," for every one was an original thinker, with his own original brand of "American" Socialism. That among so many originals there should have been some disagreement, which resulted in a "bolt," is indeed surprising.

The row started over the report of the Committee on Credentials. The charge was made that eight branches were organized for the purpose of packing the convention. The debate lasted all day. As it turned on a question of fact which could be easily ascertained, this does not speak well for the "average" honesty of some of the delegates. The debate was soon turned into one on the merits of colonization and political action. This does not speak well for the "average" of ability. The matter was finally decided by an order of the National Executive Board. This does not speak well for their "democracy."

The "great fight" came on the report of the Committee on Platform. There were a majority and a minority report. One was opposed to colonization and in favor of political action, the other was in favor of both. "Magnificent speeches" were made, and the audience listened "spell bound." "The real point at issue was whether the old German Socialist method with its class-conscibusness club tactics should continue, or American Socialist methods should prevail. The American methods in question are the methods of the Utopians of sixty years ago, which belong now in the lumber room of history, whatever their merit or justification in their own day. The so-called club tactics are the tactics that in Germany and France and Belgium have welded the greater part of the working class into one solid phalanx, and turned bourgeois methods of political chicanery into a powerful weapon of the proletariat for achieving its own emancipation. But the exposition of THESE tactics by THAT minority must have been a strange sight indeed! Victor Berger's whole political career, was it not in flat denial of the tactics of international Socialism? And Louis Miller, only a year ago, had to resort to all the sophistry at his disposal to prove to the Jewish workers that the Debs utopia was not utopian!

"American Socialist methods won," and the minority bolted to form a new party. Debs, who declared in favor of colonization on Thursday, joined on Friday the bolters who were opposed to colonization. The original Debs Democracy thus remained without Debs, and the new party which he joined is indeed without Debsism, but with a full supply of political chameleons and traitors to the cause. If the so-called American methods go on winning such victories, we shall have next year two bolts instead of one, and so on, ever increasing in geometric ratio according to the old Malthusian formula. To save the working class from this "overpopulation" is the mission of the American wing of the international Socialist army, the S. L. P.

In the editorial comments it is said that "Delegates Winchevsky, Hourwich, Barondess, etc., were among the bolters. Comment is unnecessary." Aye, but there was a great deal of comment when they entered the new Democracy! But the "veterans" were then supposed to lead 25,000 Jewish proletarians; now they have been found out not to lead even themselves. That explains the changes of heart.

The "bolters" formed a new party and adopted a platform intended to please everybody. For the industrial workers of the cities there is a Socialist programme, for the farmers an individualist programme. Individual, private property in the soil is to be perpetuated by placing the national credit at the disposal of the farmers, the erection of grain elevators by the nation, the reduction in the cost of transportation, etc. All this is to be done "for the purpose of uniting the workers in the country with those of the city." Not a word is said of the workers in the country who, like the workers in the city, are devoid of all property in the soil,—the millions of farm laborers. I suppose, the employing farmers having freed their land from all mortgages will pay their laborers the full product of their labor; or, perhaps, the laborers will be told to emigrate to the cities to enjoy the benefits of Socialism. How two social systems, one of which is based on collective ownership and the other on private ownership, can exist peacefully side by side, we are not informed. The more important branch of production is sure, in the long run, to impose its own form of organization on the less important. In the middle ages agriculture was the most important

(Continued on Page 2.)

UPS AND DOWNS.

Counter-Tendencies that Uplift and Abase the Worker.

The Economic Flux and Reflux Tends to Confuse the Working Class on its Class Interests; While that Lasts, its Action is Fitful; When that Ends, a Moral Force Seizes the Proletariat that Raises it to the Dignity of its Mission, and Renders it Proof Against Moral Degradation.

The uplifting of the proletariat from its degradation is an inevitable and natural process; but the process is neither a peaceful nor a uniform one. The tendencies of the capitalist system of production are to debase the working population. The moral new birth of the proletariat is possible only by antagonizing these tendencies and their promoters, the capitalists; and this can be done only by imparting sufficient strength to the counter tendencies that are born of the new conditions in the camp of the proletariat itself, the conditions under which the working class toils and lives. The debasing tendencies of the capitalist system are, however, very different at different periods, in different localities, and in different industries; they depend upon the condition of the market, upon the extent and measure of the clearness with which the capitalists understand their class interests, etc., etc. Likewise do the counter tendencies that develop in the several layers of the proletariat depend upon manifold circumstances: they depend, in turn, upon the customs and wants of the population from whose ranks the class of the proletariat has been recruited; upon the degree of skill or strength required in the respective industries; upon the extent to which woman and child labor prevails; upon the size of the industrial reserve army, which is very different in several industries; upon the clearness with which the working people perceive their class interests; and lastly, upon the nature of the work, whether it isolates or brings the workers together.

Each of these several sets of circumstances in the several industries and subdivisions of the proletariat vary not only greatly, but they are subject to constant changes owing to the uninterrupted course of the technical and economic revolution in production. Every day capital subjects some new section of the country and some new branch of industry to its process of exploitation and reduces the respective population to the level of proletarians; every day new branches of industry spring into life, and existing ones are revolutionized. The spectacle presented at the inception of the capitalist system of production is seen to-day. Even now, new layers of the population are thrown into the class of the working proletariat, others sink below the slums, and others again rise above the lowest grades; among the working proletarians themselves there is a constant flux and reflux noticeable; some portions are seen to rise, others to decline, according as the uplifting or the depressing tendencies may temporarily have the upper hand.

Fortunately, however, for the cause of human rejuvenation, a time is reached, sooner or later, by most of the layers of the proletariat when the uplifting tendencies obtain a decided mastery, and when they are effective enough to awaken in some section or another of the proletariat a consciousness of self, a consciousness of its class distinction, a consciousness of the solidarity of all its members and of the whole working class, a consciousness of power that is born of their close union, so soon as the sense of self-respect is letariat has reached the understanding of the fact that its class is an indispensable economic element in society; so soon as the sense of seelef-respect is kindled in its ranks; so soon as it arrives at the conviction that a brighter future is in store for its class and that its emancipation depends upon itself; so soon as any portion of the proletariat has risen high enough in the understanding of its situation and its mission, then is its influence bound to pervade its whole class and it becomes difficult to push it back into the level of those degraded beings, who are able to hate but not to hold together in a prolonged struggle; who, despairing of their future, seek to forget their misery in debauch; and who have not the stamina for revolt, but are fit only for abject submission. It is next to impossible to eradicate the class-consciousness out of that portion of the proletarians where it has once taken hold. However strongly the debasing influences of the capitalist system may make themselves felt, they may be able to push down such a portion of the proletariat ECONOMICALLY, but never MORALLY, provided always the pressure be not crushing. With this exception, the pressure brought to bear by capitalism upon the class-conscious proletariat will have the effect of producing a counter pressure; it will not debase, but embitter; it will not degrade the proletarian to the ignominy of the slums, it will raise him to the dignity of martyrdom.

The numerous calls that have come in for the New Bedford speech "What Means This Strike?" published in these columns a few weeks ago, has determined the National Executive Committee to reprint it in pamphlet form. It can be had at the Labor News Company, 64 E. 4th street, this city. Single copies, 5 cents; 10 copies, 30 cents; 100 copies, $2.50.

Boston, Mass.

THE PEOPLE and Socialist literature can always be had at Comrade C. O. Bruckner's store, 84 West Canton street.

THE PEOPLE.

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ALLIED PRINTING TRADES UNION LABEL COUNCIL NEW YORK CITY

SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888 (Presidential)	2,068
In 1890	13,331
In 1892 (Presidential)	21,157
In 1894	33,133
In 1896 (Presidential)	36,564
In 1897	55,673

If the advocates of the present, with its black catalogue of crimes and vices—if the wealthy and the self-styled high and mighty of the earth can conceive of no other system, and do not know more of the nature of man than that he may be enslaved and degraded, they know but the half, and the worst half of his capabilities. Awful, to such, will be the blast of the coming tempest, wich the strongest must bend to, and the highest fall down before!

J. F. Bray.

TRUSTING IN THE "TRICK."

Our "reformers" should not be allowed to be wasted. One should draw from them all the lessons they teach; and these are not a few. One of these lessons is that a man who does not stand upon facts is like the inside of a camera obscura: things are there upside down, in cart-before-the-horse style. Take, for instance, their abiding faith upon the "trick," as illustrated by the manner they handle the word "American."

The capitalist class rides roughshod to its aim; it upsets institutions, altars and men; it crushes manhood, stains womanhood and stunts childhood; it is after wealth, and it reaches its goal with utter unconcern for the pain it gives. Nevertheless, it can not wholly disown its age; it must render some homage to it; consequently, it does not brazenly stand out for spoliation, but covers the fact under pretty names;—"American" is one of these, and thus "gets there."

The "reformer" sees the result; he sees the capitalist class accomplish its purpose, and he sees it do so under the motto of "American." Forthwith, in his upside down mental state, the "reformer" flies to the conclusion that the "trick" lies in the word "American." "American" does it in one case, "American" should do it in an other, thinks he; he dubs his capers and feeble strokes "American"; and the result is that he remains stranded.

The "trick" in the success of the capitalist class lies not in the word "American," it lies in his ownership of capital; with this ownership and without the word he would win all the same; the "reformer's" failure is an inevitable result of his wanting to perform capitalist successes without capital. He places the cart before the horse.

ADMINISTRATIVE.

On the fourth page of this issue will be found a lengthy document from the Executive Committee of Section Greater New York to its membership. Whether our readers be members of this Section, or of the most distantly located ones; whether they be actual members of the party, or not quite as fully connected with it;—in any case that document deserves the careful perusal of all those who realize the need of "organization." and who furthermore realize the requirements of an organization whose purposes are revolutionary, especially when such an organization is surrounded by the floods of capitalist political corruption found in this country.

The experience the New York organization is now making will be the experience that all other Sections will eventually go through, in the measure in which they grow and become dangerous to the existing order. New York's experience should not be wasted. The discovery of the capitalist parties affiliation on the part of two viciously-loud members of the opposition in the party, stated in our last issue; the danger from such sources, the equal danger of too strict a discipline;—all these questions, involved in the facts adduced by the document, are matters of such deep and general importance that the document should receive careful attention.

POLITICAL and ECONOMIC.

A contributor to the Lancaster, Pa., "Labor Labor" makes this argument against the policy of striking in the shop and voting the capitalist tickets at the hustings:

"Watch the progress and final ending of an unsuccessful strike, and see how the unlucky laborer fares. First he goes on strike; his boss is obstinate and will not yield. The striker has no income to depend upon, and is forced back to work at the old wages. If the striker does show any strength the militia is called out and that settles the matter. After this is all settled a big election comes; employer and employee go to the polls and either vote Republican or Democratic. Yes, vote to uphold the same old drudgery and slavery they were so mad at when out on strike, and pride themselves on being staunch party men. Now, fellow laborer, if you persist in voting to uphold this old drudging way, why don't you submit to it in a humble manner?

"Do not think I am opposed to labor unions. I am always in sympathy with the unfortunate striker, but I have a wholesale horror of 'all talk and no cider.' It reminds one of barking up a tree at a raccoon. The idea is to quit barking and go up after him. Do you not see the trick when all the moneyed men from Rockefeller on down vote either of the old party tickets and want you to do likewise, but always oppose you when you come in the shape of a labor union or reformed politics? Did it ever occur in your mind that our way of doing business is a mixed and disordered muddle? It is called the competitive system, but it is no system at all.

"Webster says: 'A system is an assemblage of things adjusted into a regular whole; or, a regular union of principles or parts forming one entire thing.' If our industrial muddle would be systematized, all branches of our various industries would bear some relation to each other, and the supply would be regulated in conformity with the demand. Some old stickler will try to tell you we are regulated by the lack of supply and demand. If we are, why do we have panics caused by over-production (so they say) and various other causes? The regulator is a bad one, and should be replaced by a better one. Money and its manipulators are the regulators just now.

"Let us turn back to the striker and see what good he has accomplished by striking and not voting intelligently. We might liken the old competitive way unto a large tree with a huge trunk to resemble the trusts and monopolies, and so on down limbs and small twigs. Now if you strike at one of these limbs the militia will strike you. Sometimes you can snap some of the small twigs off, but the sap will soon cause it to sprout out again. Just so with striking. You can sometimes strike in a small factory or workshop and knock it out for the time being, but the idle labor caused by competition will soon cause it to sprout out as green as ever. The next time you strike do it at the ballot box, and if you don't see the point study Socialism."

A collection should be made of the mottoes that the "reform" papers fly at their mastheads, and each motto should be accompanied with some passage in the corresponding paper to show how loosely these mottoes fit, as a rule.

Here is, for instance, the Cincinnati, O., "Current Events" with this motto:

"Hew to the line, let the chips fall where they will."

What it calls "the line," and how it interprets the boldness of action implied by "letting the chips fall where they will" may be gathered from the following maxim found in its columns:

"Open the mints and the mills will take care of themselves."!!!

The "line" here means the interests of the silver mine barons who exploit and then shoot down their miners; and the boldness amounts simply in brazen declaration of false economics.

Can there be any economics falser than that that implies that the amount of money the workingmen can get depends upon the amount of money there is minted?

Our oft put question on this subject remains unanswered; yet, we shall put it again:

"Shoes, hats, houses, bread, trousers, furniture, coats, etc., etc., are infinitely more numerous now than they were thirty years ago; they are more numerously absolutely and relatively; and yet the workingmen have now fewer of them than before. The only thing that the workingmen have now more numerously than before is more silverite and goldite American duchesses, princesses, baronesses, etc., to support. This being thus, how are the workingmen to have more money by the bare coining of more money?"

Then there is the Detroit, Mich., "Sentinel" flying the motto:

"Freedom through Organization."

Yet, look as one may through its columns, one finds no evidence of its understanding that "organization" is as productive of slavery as of freedom—just the same as machinery. "Organization" is not in itself good or bad; it is either according to the principle that animates it and the knowledge that guides it. The Army of the German Emperor is an "organization," and an organization of workingmen, at that, seeing that the overwhelming majority of its members are workingmen. And yet, will anyone claim that that organization can be or will be a portal for Freedom? The "pure and simple" union is an "organization," but it can lead to freedom as little as the German Army. Just as the German Army, it is controlled by the exploiters' class, and it seeks to keep the rank and file in such plight as will leave it a prey to these exploiters and to their agents, the labor fakirs. And so on.

That which will give freedom is labor class-conscious organization, i. e., organization planted upon the principles that the existing slavery to Capital cannot be overthrown except by an economic and political organization that demands the unconditional surrender of the capitalist class through the placing in the hands of the people the land on and the machinery with which to labor.

Milwaukee, Wis.

Comrade J. Rummel, 310 18th street, is authorized agent. All subscribers in arrears are requested to settle with him at once.

EDUCATORS.

POLK, Pa., July 6—For the benefit of those who are seeking to make their few pennies go the farthest in the matter of propaganda, the following is offered that they may be able to benefit by my experience:

In Pittsburg, in 1893, I ran across the "Coming Nation," the first paper that I had seen that seriously attempted to criticize social conditions, therefore to me the "best paper on earth." In working assiduously for it, I came in contact with others on the same errand. The panic, Coxy, and the general hubbub of the times, together with the various other "reform" papers, tracts, etc., flying soon after so thickly, coupled with the claims of these papers and the hundreds of enthusiastic sap-head letters, built on the plan of patent medicine testimonials, led us all to believe that a "wave of public sentiment" was about to dash itself upon a "rotten plutocratic system" and crush it; and that with a little effort "great numbers" of men could be gathered together, and with men enough we would be able to do whatever the majority of us wanted to do. We thought that the "Coming Nation" had given us this inspiration and that it would do likewise with any others whom we might induce to read it. Therefore we hustled in every way we could, always seeking numbers, always supporting controversies and trying to believe that we could "unite on the main issues" providing there were but enough of us. And the result? Well, the result first was a co-operative store, then another (competing with the first one, but this had to be done to satisfy the leader of that class who was in his mind the prospective manager, and who left and attempted to start a third store when this plum fell another way; to the great sorrow of all for this "division of forces,") then one at McKees Rocks, one at Banksville, and one at Buena Vista, Alleghany, Wilmerding, and at Carnegie. Almost, if not all of these are now defunct. So where then is the net result? With us at Pittsburg the first important lesson we received from our attempt was that we were in the midst of a market, and that we had to buy what we would like to sell; and we must sell such as we had bought—all under the hottest kind of competition, and with the additional trouble of having to satisfy our stockholders as such as well as to satisfy them as customers. I must say that throughout there was a thoroughly honest, persistent and altogether praiseworthy attempt by practically all to do whatever lay in them to make it a success, and that the fault was in the idea under the circumstances, not the individuals. We got down to business principles as best we could; bought close, paid as low wages, worked employees (and ourselves) as long and as hard as any one, and owed all of the success that we attained to this bit of light on the facts. But those that were longing for their heaven in advance (I am one of them) saw all of our visions of bliss rapidly fading. Some fell out with the "store" and others stuck it out, but taking their weekly inspirations from the "Coming Nation's" wild goose schemes (a new one each week), started a "productive" co-operative association, in time built a very good brick house; issued labor certificates (and still have them); started a cigar factory, and a meat shop, spending oceans of time, worry and some money on all of them, and lost on all, may be excepting the house, which a real estate advance may save. Another result was the nomination of many and the election of some friends of labor, reformers, citizens candidates, and people's choices, to be squires, constables, school directors, etc., all of which to-day, like the sow of old, have returned to their wallowing in the mire of the dominant political perty of their neighborhood; securing enough influence by such tactics to make them solid to keep them from dividing the vote with the old parties.

What love feasts; what social gatherings; brought together under great pressure to inculcate and demonstrate the "brotherly feelings" then rampant. What self-sacrifices; what a mountain of labor, and not even a mouse of issue. As to the store, many an old widow manages as large a one without fatigue, while with us, officers, committees, and sub-committees each wrestled with the original problem and the added one of unity of action among us. Each one who had the matter at heart, had more responsibility and care on him from it than he would have had if it were his own. No benefits could accrue from it because of larger competitors, unless the "movement" was general; and no benefit could accrue to us from it because of the competition between men for work, if the movement was general; as the unemployed would have to sacrifice all the savings made at the "Coop" to underbid for a "job."

So much for the "thoughts" we were "made to think along these lines." Now for its influence on the public mind. On thoroughly canvassing the list of subscribers (hundreds of them) I found but few who even would give an order for goods from the "Coop." Many had the paper sent them by some enthusiast, many only liked to read the sensational "sass" that Old Grover, the Goldbugs, the Skinflint or some one else was getting, and a few years later a friend of mine who had obtained a list of subscribers from a friend of his, a stockholder at Ruskin, to use in drumming up an attendance to S. L. P. meetings, wrote me that in no case was any result apparent in response to postal cards addressed to subscribers living in the neighborhoods in which the S. L. P. meetings were held—not a single instance of where a response to the notices was made. This is but one case of many. And I only take the "Coming Nation" as an illustration, because that was where my experience was made, and any of the hundreds of well-intentioned "reform papers" could duplicate the testimony. And to those who honestly believe that it is good policy to strain from the Socialist propaganda all the essential points of Socialism, in order to make it attractive, or that to talk glibly about social, religious, and moral evils and absurdities, paves the way for something stronger, I emphatically state, from a dearly bought experience, that can be corroborated by hundreds, that it has never done so yet, but has invariably done the reverse. In this town THE PEOPLE has one subscriber, the Appeal to Reason 6—that looks fine so far. At no election here has there been more than one vote cast, and THE PEOPLE'S man cast it; the other 6 split up and fought each other politically, although they are very "radical" men with their mouths. Moral: "No lie can endure," intentional one or an unintentional one, and nothing can succeed it but the truth, and that there is but one kind of truth which cannot be made palatable or be improved on.

"There's nothing we read of
In infernal inventions
Like the well-meaning dunce
With the best of intentions."

ONE LACKALL.

WORK.

It shows the occasional perversity of social sentiment that the state of least value should often be most esteemed, that labor should be scorned and affluent idleness held in honor. Thus the general ambition of those engaged in work of any kind, and especially in manual work, is to escape from it, to gather riches and retire; for, with a large class, a gentleman is not, as in old times, a man of gentle birth or gentle manners, but simply one who can live without work. We have grown so sordid that wealth overshadows all. With the multitude, virtue, valor, learning, and abilities obtain less esteem than riches. And even when a stream of titles flows from the Royal fountain of dignities, these are almost solely bestowed upon the very wealthy. If to preserve an appearance of impartiality, a man celebrated for worth or genius here and there receives one, it is only some scrappy thing, the slightest on the list. It would be unpardonable presumption on such occasions for distinguished scientists, inventors, poets, artists, or men of letters, to put themselves on a par with plutocrats, though the latter may be destitute of everything but money. But all these distinctions in favor of wealth are unwise, unjust, and therefore immoral; are calculated to discourage and demoralize the workers, and must eventually fail to confer any honor upon their recipients as soon as high-spirited men refuse them on principle.

Intelligent and responsible work is the privilege and glory of man. It is true in a sense that other animals work, and some of them in communities with regular and orderly division of labor; but even so, their efforts are instinctive and invariably alike from age to age—without progress and without deterioration. Man, however, can adapt his work to all circumstances and to all needs. He has arrived from the flint file to the circular saw, from the stone javelin to the Armstrong gun, from the jade hammer to the giant Nasmyth, and from fig-leaves to shot-silks. He burrows into the bowels of the earth and robs it of its treasures, explores the bed of the sea, and mounts aloft in mid-air beyond the eagle's highest flight. He has measured and weighed the planets, and put the earth in a balance; has mapped out the universe and determined the components of the stars. Vast and innumerable have been his achievements over the blind forces of matter; dissolving, combining, blending, and transposing, and subduing all to his service, forming new substances, discovering new materials, and at the same time multiplying and gratifying human wants, pleasures and conveniences. All this has been the result of work. Brains and hands have united for its production. The quickest brains, the deftest hands, have led the way, and the others have followed in their rear. What we are and have to-day form the resultant of the combined forces of mind and muscle during all the past existence of humanity.

All honor, then, to work and to the workers, whether their part be high or low, whether theirs are the master minds that plan or the patient hands that execute. Whatever their degree, each is essential to the others, and they to each, as Menenius Agrippa showed the discontented Romans long ago in his fable of the "Belly and the Members." No properly informed person could ever suppose it more desirable to idle than to work, or that any man of worth could ever be a do-nothing. The drones of our commonwealth may be anything from tramps to Piccadilly loungers, may be beggars or peers, but they have no moral right to dwell amongst an industrial community. As a rule, they are the pests of society, high and low—its roués, gamblers, profligates, and debauchers; the disciples and apostles of sensuality. Those marvellous insects, the honey-bees, give a perpetual series of object-lessons in the proper treatment of drones. Their remedy may be sharp, but it is very effectual.

Idleness is the mother of mischief, and a man or woman without an occupation of some sort is on the high road to moral ruin, if not to financial. Idleness has been the bane of women of the wealthy classes in the past, and has seriously retarded female progress. But a new era has dawned for the sex, and it will devolve upon the enlightened members of all classes to lead the way for a thorough and permanent reform. It is gratifying to know that the idlers are in a comparatively small minority. Many of our hardest workers are men of rank and wealth. Our national sports are robust, and indicate a manly, hardy race, and English gentlemen are not afraid to soil their hands either at play or work. The star of effeminate dandyism is no longer in the ascendant, and the tribe of Pope's "Sporus" becomes annually smaller. How savagely the poet lashed this dainty "Lord Fanny"—"Sporus, that mere white curd of ass's milk."

"Amphibious thing! that acting either part,
The trifling head, or the corrupted heart,
Fop at the toilet, flatterer at the board,
Now trips a lady, and now struts a lord,
Eve's tempter thus the Rabbins have exprest,
A cherub's face, a reptile all the rest.
Beauty that shocks you, parts that none will trust,
Wits that can creep, and pride that licks the dust."

The moral and material blessings arising from work are not the only advantages it offers. We are too apt to think of these alone, to contrast our ocean liners with the frail coracles not yet extinct, and our complicated network of roads and canals and magnificent bridges with the once trackless forests and impassable rivers, now traversed in every direction. Health is not the least of our benefits, and nothing contributes more to this than a regular occupation. Not the work that overstrains, nor the slavery of the "sweater," nor the feverish haste that flurries; but calm, solid, steady, well-digested labor, fairly remunerated and wisely relieved by rational diversion. This is the golden recipe for the Mens sana in corpore sano.

The poet Cotton said of such:

"Why is our food so very sweet?
Because we earn before we eat.
Why are our wants so very few?
Because we nature's calls pursue.
Whence our complacency of mind?
Because we act our parts assigned."

Work wets the appetite for pleasure as well as for food. Work gives a zest to enjoyment. Work bestowed invests every possession with increased interest. We value the more that which we produce with our own hands. The fairest flowers are fairer for having been grown by our own skill. Thus in a thousand ways work in its turn becomes a pleasure, and the industrious experience joys that the idle can never know. Happiness, then, as well as duty, urges us to work. Necessity and self-love may stimulate us to it, but God in nature sets us a never-failing example of disinterested and unflagging industry. None should be without his share in the great brotherhood of labor, and women should be permitted to participate as fully and freely as men. The do-nothings of either sex, however, may serve, like the drunken Helots for the Spartan youth, "to point a moral and adorn a tale." But to treat them as superior citizens and to dub them "ladies" and "gentlemen" on account of their uselessness, is an outrage to the industrious and a disparagement of man's highest function—work.

LADY COOK.

THAT "CONVENTION."

(Continued from Page 1.)

branch of production, the country, therefore, ruled the city. In modern times industry is more important than agriculture; the city, therefore, rules the country. Socialism aims at the final abolition of the antagonism between city and country by putting both agriculture and industry under the control of the nation.—Our universal harmonizers might derive some benefit from a study of the history of the struggle between the industrial North with its social system based on wage labor and the agricultural South with its system of slave labor—but our harmonizers are not there for study, or anything else short of capers, and deserve no further notice.

The platform adopted by the rump of the Social Democracy should be incorporated in a text book on logical fallacies and historical misconceptions. It declared (1) that in the United States there are unrivalled opportunities for building up Socialist commonwealths in the separate States, first, because of the abundance of undeveloped natural opportunities, and secondly, because of our federal system of government. (2) But the federal Supreme Court with its power to override the decisions of the State courts can nullify all attempts at establishing a Socialist commonwealth in any State. (3) Therefore, it should be the exclusive aim of Socialists to take part in Congressional and Presidential elections for the purpose of breaking the power of the Supreme Court.

Let us pass over the erroneous idea that there are in this country to-day outside of the Indian Territory and the Great Desert, unappropriated natural resources of any value. Let us pass over the constitutional question whether Congress can substantially restrict the powers of the Supreme Court, for a remodelling of the Constitution under the capitalist regime is admitted by themselves to be hopeless. Let us also pass over the obvious economic absurdity of attempting to put the great industries of the nation under separate State control. Aside from the trifling considerations, the platform declares (1) that it is possible to establish Socialist commonwealths in the separate States; (2) that it is impossible; and (3) that it will become possible by taking part in the politics of the nation. "Economic action," which at first was co-ordinate with, or even superior to political action, now turns out to be impossible without the previous attainment to political power. And establishment of Socialism in the separate States now turns out to be impossible without acting on a national scale. What had been at first tacitly dismissed is now tacitly smuggled in—by the back door.

Finally, the President and Congressmen to be elected will be the agents either of the capitalist class or of the working class. In the former event, it is expected that the ruling class would voluntarily resign one of its most formidable weapons, the Supreme Court. In the latter case, it is expected that the producers would take control of the political powers of the nation, in order to fall back upon separate States for the realization of Socialism!

This is too much even for the highest average ability.

In the proclamation issued by the rump the following choice morsel is found: "We shall ever keep in mind that all political organizations are but means which should receive neither loyal devotion nor hostile criticism on their own account." Not on their own account! But, surely, on account of what can be gotten out of them in the way of private emolument? This is a very convenient doctrine, but is it the distinctive quality of "American" Socialism?

In justice I must state that there are many truths uttered both in the platform and the proclamation. But these stand in fatal contradiction to their reactionary and utopian methods, and were evidenty learned through the propaganda of the S. L. P. The debate on the S. T. & L. A. which had been going on in the party for the past two years, seems to have furnished a goodly sum of useful instruction. It is recognized that the abstract preaching of Socialism cannot be fruitful, that the Socialist must take part in the class struggle all the year round. "To tell the laborer, threatened with starvation in midsummer, to be patient till fall and then vote against his master is cruel mockery." "Organized labor must use organized labor's weapons—the boycott and the strike; and their use will be blamable only when those who use them treat the present state of industrial war as normal and eternal." Sterling truths these, which have been taught by the founders of the S. T. & L. A., and for which some of the very men who subscribed their names to these words called them "union wreckers."—Let us hope that the younger and honest element may soon arrive at a clearer understanding of the social question, when they will be welcomed within the inviting folds of the one an indivisible S. L. P.

H. SIMPSON.

Uncle Sam—So long as the capitalist class rules you need not look for improvement: it won't come.

Brother Jonathan—Bother "capitalist class". There is no such thing as "capitalist class". We are all capitalists.

U. S.—You among them?

B. J.—Yes; I among them.

U. S.—And what does your "capital" consist in?

B. J.—In what? (stretching out his arms) In these.

U. S.—Do you imagine that the Spanish Admiral Montojo at Manila and his men had no arms?

B. J.—They certainly had arms.

U. S.—And are you aware that he had more men under him than Dewey had?

B. J.—Yes.

U. S.—And yet Dewey and the fewer men under him mopped up Manila Bay with Montojo?

B. J.—Guess they did.

U. S.—How did they manage that?

B. J.—They had infinitely superior guns, and all that.

U. S.—Superior war material?

B. J.—Yes.

U. S.—But I thought you said Montojo had more men with him, and, accordingly, more arms and hands.

B. J.—But arms and hands are not war material.

U. S.—Accordingly, what would you think of me if I said to you, "Bother war materials; there is no such thing as a man equipped with war material; we are all so equipped; look at my arms and hands; these are my war materials";—What would you say to that?

B. J. looks at U. S. in blank amazement.

U. S.—Have you been struck with dumbness?

B. J.—How can you call arms and hands war materials?

U. S.—That's absurd, ain't it?

B. J.—I should think so!

U. S.—Just so absurd it is for you to call your arms and hands capital.

B. J.—What then is "capital"?

U. S.—To be entitled to the term capital a thing must combine two qualities:

1. It must be a tool, or implement of labor: that quality alone excludes your arms and hands; your arms and hands are not the product of human labor, implements of labor are;

2. It must be powerful enough to disable those who do not own it from competing with him who does.

From this last it follows that a thing may be capital at one time and not capital at another; capital at one place and not capital at another place.

B. J.—Why, that becomes very much mixed up.

U. S.—Only if you don't hold firmly to the definition. The loom that preceded the Northrop loom was capital in New England so long as the Northrop loom did not exist, because that predecessor was powerful enough to exclude competition; but just as soon as the Northrop loom shall have been thoroughly introduced, the old loom ceases to be capital because the Northrop loom is so much more powerful.

Likewise, if the old loom, that ceased to be capital in New England because of the advent of the Northrop loom, is shipped to some distant corner where the Northrop loom has not yet been set up, it will there be capital, while in New England it would not be.

B. J.—I can see that.

U. S.—Then, also, take this illustration, which reduces the matter to dollars and cents. Thirty odd years ago $500 sufficed to set up a brewery in this city; Ehret, the brewer, did so. That $500 represented the value of the implements of a brewery and were capital then; to-day $500,000 would be needed to set up a brewery with any chance of success as a competitor.

B. J.—I heard of that.

U. S.—But you did not digest its significance. Capital, especially to-day, is such a large aggregate of wealth as can defy competition in production. The class that hold that is the capitalist class; you had better not say "bother" about it, or you will get left as Montojo did at Manila.

THAT WE MAY REMEMBER.

["If a child eats too much you do not pity but chastise him; Society is that child—greedy, over-dressed, over-amused, and over-fed. The crass stupidity of the eternal scramble is utterly, idiotically silly."—"Vanity Fair."]

Quite so, as our critic observeth,
The elite are a gluttonous crew,
Who wallow in wealth
To the manifest filth
No less of themselves than of you.

As swine broken into a garden,
Their energies all are employed
In excesses debased,
Laying everything waste,
Till the "gardener's hope" is destroyed

This conduct our critic deems "silly"—
Were forgiven and it were no worse;
But to those who reveal
What the millions feel
'Tis a crime and a country's curse.

Some opine this devouring herd
Are more to be pitied than blamed,
And this "we" believe,
Of those we perceive
Of their ravage and riot ashamed.

—GLEANER.

"Labour Leader," London.

The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

SOCIALISM AND ITS OBJECTIONS.

By A. M. SIMONS, Chicago.

If in an average gathering the remark is made of a person that he is a Socialist, the chances are that some one will ask: "What kind of a Socialist?" and follow it with the would-be wise and witty remark that "We are all Socialists now-a-days." With Debsism, Bryanism, Populism, Fabianism, and artistic, ethical and Christian reform parties all claiming the name of Socialist, it must be admitted that there seems some justification for such remarks. It is such indefiniteness that lends the sting to the speech that the President of Bowdoin College puts into the mouth of a "Socialistic" speaker in a recent article in a popular magazine, that "We don't know what we want, but we want it right away, and we want it bad." Of course such a remark by such a writer is due either to criminal ignorance or criminal intent, as he might easily know, if he does not, that no such speech was ever heard from the lips of a Socialist. On the contrary, Socialists know exactly what they want, and want nothing "right away" save an educated, class-conscious laboring class. Nevertheless, with the great number of ideas parading under the name of Socialism, some confusion on the part of the casual reader or observer is excusable.

Even with those more or less familiar with Socialism it is often well to sometimes go back to first principles, review our philosophy as a whole, and take a comprehensive survey of essential points. Such action is more necessary in America and England than in any other country. Everywhere, save in those two countries, a Socialist means a member of that great mass of class-conscious working people, who are standing shoulder to shoulder, regardless of creed, color, nationality or race, in uncompromising opposition to the capitalist system of society. That organization, with its branches in every land where the relation of capitalist and workman exists, stands upon a clearly defined platform, the main principles of which have remained practically unchanged since their first statement over fifty years ago. Whether this steadfastness and unchangeableness is a good thing or not is beside the question, it should at least silence those who say that Socialism means so many different things.

GENERAL OUTLINES.

Socialism is not a plan to reform society. It holds that each age grows out of the preceeding one in obedience to great fundamental laws of social development, and that progress is only possible in harmony with those laws. Socialism, as a social philosophy, maintains, among other things, that the present social organization holds within itself the elements that will bring about its transformation into a society where the instruments of production and distribution will be social property, and where production will be for use and not for sale, and co-operation shall be the ruling force in the distribution of the product. He who would understand Socialism must study two things: First, the make-up of society to determine its essential elements and their relation to each other; and second, the laws of the historical development and interaction of such elements.

Socialism holds that the form of any society is dependent upon its economic organization. Since the larger part of the energy of any organism must be exercised in its own maintenance, it follows that the form and structure of the organism will be largely determined by the manner in which that maintenance is obtained. This is a universal truth of biology. The struggle through which an animal or plant passes in obtaining its food and shelter, its contests with its rivals, its co-operation with its fellows, its exposure to dangers of climate, the configuration of the ground and the nature of the soil upon which it must live, in short, all the multitude of things that go to make up the "struggle for existence," operating upon inherited characteristics, determine what the form and structure of the plant or animal shall be. This is the fundamental law of evolution, the basis upon which the whole modern science of biology rests. No one to-day thinks of calling the scientist "unethical," "mechanical," "materialistic" or "heartless" because he announces this law. It must be admitted, however, that it has not been so very many years since all or most of these epithets were applied to the men of science who announced and defended these principles. The world seems never to learn that calling a law of nature or social development "bad," "cruel," "wicked," "unChristian," etc., is only a foolish waste of breath. Such a law can be either true or false, but not "good," "bad" or "indifferent." Socialism holds regarding society as biology does concerning plants and animals, that at any given stage of development the manner of obtaining subsistence and maintaining life, acting upon the previously existing elements in the organism, determines the structure, down to the smallest members. Society lives and maintains itself through the operation of its economic system. Like the plant and the animal, it transforms certain things in its surroundings into the elements necessary to life and distributes them among its members. Such an analogy by no means implies the adoption of so-called biological sociology. It simply confines itself to the points where the analogy is identical, the functions and ends the same.

GROUNDWORK OF SOCIETY.

Such a view of society lends new importance to economic organization. If the form and structure of society are dependent upon the manner in which society adjusts itself to its surroundings and perpetuates itself, then the economics of society are the fundamental elements upon which any social theory must rest.

In the present, or capitalistic organization of society, production, or the changing of the materials of nature into a condition in which they can be used, is done by means of machinery. How this has come about, and why no other process is possible to-day will be discussed later. This machinery, which is absolutely necessary to the life of society, is all owned by one class. This ownership gives them control of the product, and makes it possible for them to compel all others to work for them. A sufficient share of the product is given the workers to enable them to live and perpetuate their kind. As the workers have no other means of living, they come to look upon the share thus given them as a favor, and to beg for access to the machines that they may produce wealth for their masters. The owners of the product become the ruling class, and determine the form of the great fundamental organs of society. They shape the Church and State, determine the nature of religion, education and legislation. This state of affairs constitutes the basis of present capitalist society.

As at any moment the structure of an organism is dependent upon two things, its environment and its inherited characteristics, and as the direction and nature of future growth will depend upon the operation of a future development upon present characteristics, any thorough knowledge of society demands a study of its previous elements. It is only through a study of the changing relations of social elements in the past that an idea is obtained of the laws that determine social growth and development. Man's environment as a whole, being all terrestrial in nature, practically unlimited by locality, changes little with the passage of time. Hence by observing how that environment has acted in the past, and studying the elements that it has developed and upon which it must work in the future, it is possible to forecast with tolerable accuracy the course of further developments in the immediate future.

HISTORIC REVIEW.

Socialism thus becomes from one point of view a philosophy of economic history. The following paragraphs aim to give the main outlines of that philosophy as applied to modern economic history.

At the close of the last century society was rapidly changing form. It was composed of great numbers of self-supporting groups. The family, neighborhood and nation were each largely independent of outside influences. The memory of many now living goes back to the time when hundreds of things were made in the home that now demand the great factory, and when the village blacksmith, shoemaker and miller made up almost the whole economic circle of the community. Things were made for immediate and direct use or exchange with other producers. Prices were fixed by custom or law, and were little affected by competition. To undersell a neighbor was looked upon as akin to cheating, rather than the one sure mark of great business skill and management. Economic differences between individuals were small. Population was almost stationary both as to numbers and locality. Roads were well-nigh impassable and all communication for economic purposes slight.

All this has so rapidly changed that the movement is commonly called the "Industrial Revolution." This change may be viewed along two main lines: First, with reference to the instruments and manner of production as combined in the organized industry; and second, with reference to the people who made up the great mass of society; in other words, with regard to Capital and Labor. As these forces at all times overlap and interact in their development, it is impossible to closely differentiate their history.

The instruments of production were transformed by a great number of far-reaching inventions, all made within a very few years. The spinning-jenny, power loom, cotton gin and steam engine are some of the more important of these. Their first and most obvious effect was to vastly increase man's power to produce. Scarcely an article of comfort or luxury that could not now be produced in much greater amount, and with far less labor. As a second result the inanimate means of production became of much greater importance. The tools began to rank before the man. Each new invention made the machine more nearly automatic. Their expense was soon too great for the individual laborer. Many machines required several laborers each to operate them. They could often be used only in connection with other machines. A multitude were driven simultaneously by the same power. Patents and trade secrets still further limited ownership. The increased product required complex and expensive distributive agents for its disposal. All things worked together to limit ownership of the machines to the owners of great fortunes.

The process of production became very complex, and required much organization and supervision. As the owners of the machines were the ones most interested in the success of such organization and supervision, and as they were the only ones prepared to take up the function, they temporarily became the organizers of industry. The fact that one person was functioning in two capacities, as owner of the instruments of production, and also as an organizer of industry, served, as such dual functioning always does, to confuse the situation. It enabled the owner of the machines to conceal the enormous sums received as tribute from those who were compelled to surrender the greater part of their product to obtain access to the machines. They claimed that these sums were the legitimate reward for the service rendered in organizing industry. They proudly styled themselves, in their own economic treatises, the "Captains of Industry," the "Entrepreneurs" of society, and likened themselves to great military heroes, in that, as the latter marshalled the hosts of war, so they directed the armies of production. There was this trifling weakness in the analogy, that the military hero does not ordinarily find it to his interest to take from his soldiers all they have in return for access to the arms and munitions of war with which they are fighting his battles. As will be shown later on, there was never any essential reason why the two functions should have been combined save that it enabled the owner of the machine to occupy the highest paid position in his own establishment.

PRESENT CONDITIONS.

This new complex industrial condition transformed the whole organization of society. The great factory became necessary to house machinery, workmen and product. The factory demands the city. The movement of population toward the industrial centers set in. Subsequent inventions and economic organization accelerated the movement until the social, economic and political life of the world was transformed and adjusted to the new industrial conditions.

The increased product became too great for the local market. No neighborhood could either consume all it produced or afford to produce all it needed to consume. Another series of inventions cleared the way for further development. Stevenson and Fulton hitched the new found power to car and boat, and well nigh swept away time and space as marking bounds to the economic world. Improvement followed improvement, telegraph and telephone, electric car and bicycle, until the appearance of the term "world market" indicated that the circle of exchange once surrounding but a single village had reached its limit and become merged in the meridians and the equator. Goods were no longer made to be USED in the immediate neighborhood, but to be SOLD at the uttermost parts of the earth. Custom and legal regulation, as means of fixing prices and controlling quality, disappeared as impracticable, and the era of competition was ushered in.

Everywhere the economic world was in the midst of a hand-to-hand struggle. Society, if not Nature, was "red in tooth and claw." In every industry a multitude of firms sought to undersell and ruin one another. As the object was only to sell and obtain profits, the energies of society were bent toward finding markets rather than producing goods. Millions of dollars were wasted in advertising. Millions more in superfluous plants and useless industries. Commercial wars, seeking to open new fields to greed, and waged in obedience to the maxim that "Trade follows the flag," forced this inhuman combat on less developed nations with most direful results. Natural resources were recklessly exploited. The homes of posterity were robbed of coal, gas, oil and wood that a few idlers might gratify some extra whims. Poison was placed in the food, shoddy in the cloth, and fire traps built for human beings, all in order that competitors might be underbid, and undersold, and ruined, until it came to pass that of one hundred firms entering business ninety were ruined, financially murdered, within ten years after beginning.

Such a condition cannot last. It is a state of unstable equilibrium, and cannot be maintained. A free-for-all fight must end some time. In this universal struggle, a slight advantage once attained tended to remain and increase. It mattered not what this original advantage might be, a patent, a favorable location, especial foresight at critical times, illegal aid from political powers, or even a chance turn of the market. Once in advance, the distance between the leader and his followers ever widened. As a great number of firms obtained such advantages simultaneously, the first tendency was simply to diminish the number of competitors while still retaining competition, often fiercer than before.

CONCENTRATION.

A new principle then came into operation. With fewer firms it is easier to combine and divide profits than to compete and destroy profits. Trusts were formed, only to be broken by internal dissensions into continually renewed struggles ever shorter, fiercer and between fewer members, until combination fades into consolidation, and the last step in the capitalistic evolution of industry has taken place, and competition has given way to monopoly.

That this process is more rapid in some industries than in others has given rise to the theory of "Natural Monopolies." The supporters of this theory, noting that industries with certain characteristics tend to omit some stages in this evolution and to approach the end with more than ordinary rapidity, seek to set bounds to the operation of the above laws, not seeing that the distinction drawn is historic, not generic.

THE PROLETARIAT.

Meanwhile the laborer has undergone an equally great transformation. At the beginning of the period under discussion he had just been driven from the land by the system of inclosures. His rights to the soil, hitherto inviolate even though legally but a slave, were now invaded. He was driven to the cities to seek as best he might a place in the rising factory system. Here he was only a unit in a great mob struggling for work. Ignorant, suspicious of his fellows, with few rights before the law, he became the pitiable victim of a heartless system. Subjected to the full force of competition, his wages were quickly sent down to the subsistence point. When men could be exploited no further, the home was invaded, and mother and child dragged to the factory. Then arose the English factory horrors when helpless women and children were offered up to the Moloch of competition with a barbarity and ferocity equalled in few savage annals. This was the golden age of competition and "free contract."

New forces began to be called into being. The very physical contiguity of the laborers in the factories and great cities aroused a sense of social solidarity, a consciousness of common interest. Their common sufferings were so great as to drown all minor differences in a common brotherhood of pain. As this unity of interest became more evident they formed societies for self protection and common bargaining with the owners of the machines. The union was at first organized strictly along trade lines, and was closely limited in its action to endeavors to obtain a larger share of the product. Such organization and action was at first successful to a considerable degree. It crystallized the sentiment of solidarity along the lines of least resistance, even though at the same time it emphasized the lines of division. Gradually the unions forced their way through persecution and repression, to toleration, recognition and regulation, and finally to encouragement and fulsome laudation. So long as trade education was valuable and could be to some degree monopolized by the union, and while there was still competition between employers even of different countries, it was possible to achieve much by the original trades union methods, at least for those particular members of the working class that were within the unions. But with new industrial conditions, when trades are no longer of value and employers no longer compete, the trades union must change with the changing conditions if it is not to become a mere "rudimentary organ" marking a past stage of social evolution.

Other influences contributed to increase the rapidly growing solidarity of the laborers. Popular education raises the general intelligence and helps to eliminate the differences due to early opportunity. The newspaper, the club, and the popular lecture all contribute to the same end. Even the capitalistic political party, while misleading the laborer, trains him for united action. Means of communication widen the field of labor as well as that of distribution. The workingman, like his product, becomes cosmopolitan. The "Labor Problem" becomes a universal one, to be solved on universal lines. Differences of race fade away before the common unity of labor. The machine eliminates trade distinctions and trade jealousies. "All men are equal before the machine." Distinctions in wages disappear. Highly paid "skilled labor" vanishes before the increasingly automatic tool. Trade schools and scientific academies further this movement. Wealthy manufacturers can well afford to endow such institutions, knowing full well that in a few years they can recoup themselves from the fall in wages of "skilled" labor. Not a trade school or university but furnishes countless illustrations of this principle. The German chemical works obtain men fresh from the best laboratories of the world at almost the same wages as are paid to the man who wheels away the finished product. A new solidarity arises, breaking through the now outgrown trades union lines, and demanding an organization co-extensive with the laborers of the world.

There is another movement tending along this same direction, of increased social solidarity of the laborers. They are more and more becoming a distinct class. The gap between them and the owners of the machines is an ever widening one. This division was at first narrow and often crossed. The function of organizing and directing industry was merged in that of ownership of the instruments of production and distribution. The employer frequently rose from among the laborers. Each laborer hoped some time to become an employer. As the process of concentration went on the employer was economically and socially separated from the laborer. The capitalist removed to the suburb. The laborer remained in the slum. Gigantic differences in wealth arose. The millionaire and the tramp appeared. In the United States $^{9}/_{100}$ of 1 per cent. of the population own 20 per cent. of the property, and 9 per cent. (including the $^{9}/_{100}$ per cent.) own 80 per cent., while the remaining 91 per cent. of the people must content themselves with the residue of 20 per cent. of the wealth.

SUPERFLUOUS CAPITALIST CLASS.

The oversight of the factory is intrusted to superintendents, overseers and bosses. The employer seldom sees the men who produce his wealth. The corporation, only introduced into the productive industries of the United States in the early 80's, completes the separation. As a stockholder not only is the last vestige of the alleged function as an organizer of industry swept away, but the last vital link between owner and operator of the machine is broken. The whole task of superintendence, organization, direction and operation of industry is intrusted to hired employees. The industry becomes a socially independent productive agent, composed of and wholly operated by hired laborers. It is, in short, an organization of industry, BY laborers and OF laborers, but FOR capitalists. The development of the capitalist system is well nigh completed. Competition has faded into monopoly. Society has become stratified into two far separated classes with diametrically opposite economic interests, upon one side the producers, independently organized for all productive purposes, on the other a class of non-producers, shorn of their last social function, but enabled through legal possession of the instruments of production and distribution to extort from the producers the larger part of their product.

THE TRADES UNION.

These are the last steps preparatory to another fundamental change. Each step was absolutely necessary to the culmination, the machine and competitive struggle to develop the powers of production and reduce the laborers to a common level; consolidation and monopoly to simplify and unify production and make it a social act; the labor union with popular education to give the laborers social solidarity and fit them for economic organization; and the corporation and alien ownership to isolate the productive process from the capitalist and demonstrate his uselessness and the ability of the laborers to conduct a self-sufficient organization of industry.

It now remains only to entirely cut off the capitalist from the process and to conduct industry for the benefit of the producers, with the distribution of the product determined by other than competitive force. The question arises as to how this will be brought about. A study of the field from another point of view shows that while the developments previously noted were so wondrously full, the means to the accomplishment of the final step are not lacking. When the ballot was placed in the hands of the workingman and society agreed to abide by the decision of the majority, the destiny of the social organization was committed to the control of the laborer. From that moment the social will is subject to him, and upon him rests the responsibility of deciding what the common action shall be. This right was first conferred upon him by the newly arising capitalist class in order to overthrow the old political order. The merchants and manufacturers needed a weapon with which to fight the old nobility. They secured this weapon by arming their employees with the ballot, and then directing, cajoling, deceiving and coercing them into voting as the interests of the masters dictated. The issues were at first governmental, whether the State should be Monarchial, Republican or Democratic. But these questions have all been long settled. The capitalists gained every point, and are the recognized masters of the political world. The old order of nobility is no longer anywhere an active political force. Social questions are now economic, not governmental. The one great question of to-day is the division of the industrial product. Upon this society is divided into two great classes with diametrically opposite interests. Every new machine that sends more men to walk the streets in idleness, every new trust that further limits production and simplifies industry, every new bankruptcy that sends more members into the laborer's ranks, every new strike that accentuates the opposing interests of capital and labor, every new panic that demonstrates the incapacity of the capitalistic system to perform its function of nourishing the social body, every new land slide from one capitalistic party to another that gives each in turn an opportunity to demonstrate their uselessness and corruption, every new war for wider markets—every development, in fact, along the lines of social development we have been tracing brings the final step nearer. When the laboring class of the world shall become sufficiently conscious of their class interests, sympathies, rights and duties to grasp the reins of political power and cut the legal integument uniting the capitalist to the productive agencies, and taking control of the instruments of production and distribution, make them common property and operate them for the common good, then will this evolution have reached its culmination.

REVOLUTIONARY EDUCATION.

The only preparation possible to this final step is to infuse the laborers with a consciousness of the function that history and the evolution of society has bestowed upon them. Until they are sufficiently unified, educated and conscious of their rights and responsibilities to take up this function they are not prepared to perform it. By the wondrous perfection that ever marks laws of social development the sign of fitness to perform the function will be the recognition of the right and duty to assume it. The growth of a body of class-conscious laborers prepared to use their political power to secure economic control of production and the abolition of wage slavery is the sign that the evolution has well-nigh run its course. The only active step that can be taken by those who believe that the coming society will be infinitely better than the present, and who desire to hasten its coming, is to educate the working class to a sense of their class duty, and to impress them with the importance of the historical function that devolves upon them. As they are the ones most oppressed by the present system, and most to be benefited by the establishment of the future one, it follows that these facts should be emphasized, and they should be urged to unite themselves with those who are working to hasten the coming of a better social stage.

THE POLITICAL PARTY OF LABOR.

With whom then shall they affiliate? Our study so far has shown us that any party that is to be the instrument through which the laborers shall perform this most vital function, and which shall be fit and capable of becoming the means of transforming the present capitalistic system into the Co-operative Commonwealth must possess certain characteristics.

First, it must be an INTERNATIONAL party. Any party operating on narrower lines fails to grasp the significance of the movement. No feature of the evolution is bounded by national or geographical lines. The strike of the New England cotton operatives fails because of Southern industrial conditions; the English engineers' trade union is destroyed by American mechanics, and the Japanese laborer drags down his American brother.

Second, it must be a SOCIALIST party; that is, a party that is conscious of the direction of social evolution and that is uncompromisingly committed to the abolition of the wage system. Otherwise it is not fitted to enjoy the fruits of victory or to perform its function as the social organizer of industry. A party committed to anything less or anything else than this cannot fail to become a part of some section of the capitalist party, and hence a mere obstructing force. A party, for example, standing alone for municipalization and nationalization of certain industries, simply advocates a transference of masters from the capitalist stockholder to the capitalist taxpayer. Neither will the evolution of society be advanced since capitalism so intrenched is more strongly defended than before. More people are then interested in the maintenance of wage slavery in each particular industry. Worse than all else, a class of favored workers are created, as in the London municipal industries and the American post office, who lose class-consciousness and class interests, and, like the old trades unionists become deaf to the sufferings of their weaker or less fortunate brothers. All such schemes may be given one final test to decide if they are in the line of social development: Do they help ALL the working class, or only a FEW at expense of the many?

Third, such a party must be a LABOR party, that is, a party acting consciously from the point of view of the working class. The middle class is a fast disappearing one, and has no definite function to perform in this evolution. The outcome of the struggle will be the destruction of the capitalist class, and hence all their instincts, training and prejudices will be opposed to the movement. This view is looked upon with disfavor by sentimentalists as "drawing class lines" and "inciting class prejudices," and is denounced as inhuman, unChristian and ethically wrong generally. All this is beside the question.

If we examine existing parties we quickly find that but one of them complies with all or even one of these requirements. The INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST LABOR party is the only party that knows no bounds of race, creed, color or nationality, that is composed of, by and for the laborer, and that stands unhesitatingly committed to securing the fruits of the social evolution of the ages through the abolition of wage slavery. It is with this party that the workingmen of the world should and will unite. Based upon the philosophy of Hegel and Kant, and grounded in its historical position upon the most tireless and scholarly research into the minutest details of the economic life of the world, with its many million toiling members animated by a single purpose, it moves forward in every land to take its place as the foremost actor in society's most momentous drama.

Boston, Mass.

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The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

CORRESPONDENCE.

[Correspondents who prefer to appear in print under an assumed name, will attach such name to their communication, besides their own signature and address. None other will be recognized.]

Slashing Texan Wit.

To THE PEOPLE.—Several months ago, when certain A. F. of L. anti-immigration propositions were sent out to the organizations to be voted on, there issued from this State an answer that I never saw reproduced in THE PEOPLE. I think it was so good that I enclose it. It is quite a credit to Texas, from whence, some people imagine, not much good is to be expected in the Movement in which the East now leads. This answer should serve as a warning that Texas "will be there." This was the answer:

"To the Officers and Members of Carpenters' Union, Local No. 114. Brothers:

"In view of the fact that you are called upon to ballot on seven phases of the immigration question by the American Federation of Labor it behooves all participants to approach the question with such gravity and reverential awe as this mighty issue demands. On the surface President Gompers evinces a commendable determination to lead the hosts of labor to a life and death struggle with its implacable foes, the labor exploiters.

"At first thought it would seem that President Gompers should have selected some issue calculated to point out to the laboring element the real danger and the real enemy. However, as he could not do this and carry water on both shoulders at the same time, he is hereby exonerated; or, perhaps he has selected the issue most suitable to his calibre, more properly adjustee to his size, as it were. In charity this view will be accepted. As a substitute to the immigration question and as being more germane to the interests of wage earners and organized labor generally, we submit the following, and trust that Brother Gompers will see his error and urge the demands with vigor the next time he goes before a congressional committee; and, as to the prior importance of the questions herewith submitted to his distinguished consideration, as opposed to the immigration issaue, we insist that there is no serious question of casuistry involved.

"However, we'll bet a 2 cent marble against President Gompers' head, just to make the odds even, that he hasn't the sand to tackle the issues herewith presented, to wit:

"Proposition 1—Does your organization incline favorably to the view that the moon is made of green cheese, or, if all members do not incline favorably to this view, what is the percentage based in favor of and what the percentage prejudiced against said proposition?

"Proposition 2—Does your organization favor a duty or import on peanuts, and would your organization define such import duty as specific or ad valorem, or, should the commissioners of internal revenue be empowered and directed to place revenue stamps on any and all peanuts; and what penalty should be assessed against children for eating peanuts not bearing revenue stamps? Further, does your order stand committed to a policy of tariff for revenue only or a revenue for tariff only; or democrats for office only or office for democrats only?

"Proposition 3—Should dogs be provided with two tails or only one as of yore; or, if a dog's tail were to be amputated, should it be done an inch at a time to abbreviate the sufferings of the dog?

"Proposition 4—Does your order favor changing the name of skunk cabbage to that of rose or violet with a view of effecting a change for the better in the villainous smell of the aforesaid skunk cabbage?

"Proposition 5—When issues involving the liberty and independence of men and the probity of women are before the toilers of the land, who are unschooled in economic thought and groping in the dark and praying for a Moses to show them the true theory of life, what should be done with the officers of the American Federation of Labor who monkey with side issues and offer their constituencies hog wash? Should they be bled for the simples or should their necks be sawed off with a grindstone?

"Proposition 6—Does your organization favor a law establishing the parity of ax handles and horse shoes, and, further, should saw bucks be made redeemable in boot jacks and shoe pegs in rolling pins?

"Proposition 7—Do you incline favorably to the proposition that the present industrial depression could be remedied, the idle employed, and wages and prices raised by applying a slippery elm poultice to a carbuncle on a cork leg; or, do you believe that the present hard times will never end till all the horses in a race can win at the same time?

"Proposition 8—Do you subscribe to the doctrine that the hypothesis that a bull is an owl is thoroughly compatible with the theory that a cow is a fish, or do you incline to the belief that a toad is a canary bird?

"Respectfully submitted with felicitations of the subscriber.—CARL S."

Make no mistake about Texas.

R. A. W.

Waco, Tex., July 5.

New Journalism.

To THE PEOPLE.—Socialists do not underrate the task which lies before them; they realize that the masses are densely ignorant on politico-economic questions; they also know that this ignorance is a product of the capitalist class domination and is perpetuated by it; furthermore, that this ignorance is necessary, indispensible, to the existence of such domination.

Influenced by the evolution of the capitalist system, the public press, resolved into a few close corporations, owned by large capitalists, is pledged to support their interests, consequently to maintain the present system.

Although sophistry, false protestations of friendship, etc., cannot blind clear-minded reasoning persons to the ill-concealed antagonism of the press towards the rights, needs and just aspirations of the people, nevertheless, the injurious, demoralizing effect of these prostituted organs of "public opinion" is deplorably apparent in the great body of our unthinking citizens.

Therefore, a most important duty of Socialists is to build up and maintain the new, better and cleaner press devoted to the interests of the people and which makes ceaseless, aggressive and uncompromising war upon all their enemies. It is for Socialists to place this new journalism, which deserves the name, into the hands of the intelligent proletariat and all persons well disposed to the coming new social order. In a word, it is education.

Comrades, give your hearty support to THE PEOPLE and the "New Charter," extend their circulation and you will thereby extend education.

Jersey City, July 4. WILLIAM DORAN.

Disappointment in Store for Thoughtless War-whoopers.

To THE PEOPLE.—I believe and hope that the toiling masses of the several countries chiefly concerned in the present war will soon learn after the war is over that the Spanish colonists are freed only from openly cruel Feudalism, and find them under the yoke of hypocritically cruel Capitalism and that the greatest economic revolution will be needed to be consummated by said workers to grant them the greatest, permanent, progressive freedom and civilization, foretold to them by Marx, Letournais and other pre-eminent sociologists.

When we Socialists think over it, it seems so strange that so many so-called intelligent working people, in this latter part of the nineteenth century take such servile interest in the international quarrels of their international robbers.

But light is breaking among the disinherited toilers of the earth and soon the old game of setting working people at each others' throats for the benefit of useless parasites will be played out, and the workers will see clearly by the economic development, aided by the diffusion of the Marxian teachings of history, what their historic mission is, the overthrow of the latest and last system of slavery, the wage system—capitalism—with its poverty, starvation, adulteration, waste, war, crime and ignorance: the banishment of all this and the establishment in its stead of the common ownership of the globe and its social resources, with their systematic management for the use and benefit of humanity.

Before many decades pass we will find it so, and will see the oldest flag in the world, the red flag of the rights of labor and humanity, waving over the capitals of the world, emancipated, and a free and united and happy people looking in wonder over the pages of history recording that their ancestors lived under the following economic stages, and is the same order: the wild freedoms of individualism and tribedom, the slaveries of chatteldom, serfdom and wagedom; that they themselves are living under the crowning system of the ages, the free, progressive and lasting system of Socialism.

A CITIZEN OF THE WORLD.

Dedham, Mass., July 6.

Buffalo, N. Y.

Comrade Peter Steenmand, Jr., 81 Guilford street, has been elected agent for THE PEOPLE.

All subscribers in arrears are requested to kindly remit when called upon by the new agent.

To the Members of Section Greater New York, S. L. P.

COMRADES:—

We consider it our duty to adddress to you some earnest words on the state of our party organization in Greater New York.

We are this year to go through the most critical and therefore the most important campaign that the S. L. P. has had to undertake since it became a recognized party. If we want to come out of this campaign with a creditable showing, we must enter upon it with a force that is not hampered in its work by internal disturbances.

The party of this city HAS been hampered in that respect. Let our comrades be reminded of some facts.

In the beginning of 1896 the Sections of New York and Kings Counties endorsed the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance. In the old section New York this decision was reached after a thorough discussion carried on in general section meetings and through all the branches. The question was not decided at a section meeting, but by a general vote.

That ought to have settled the question for at least a reasonable time. The minority in a democratic organization is in duty bound to respect the decisions of the majority and to assist in carrying them out successfully. And most of the comrades who had voted against affiliation with the S. T. & L. A. were willing to act in this truly democratic spirit. But the minority contained an element which absolutely refused to accept the decision of the section.

Within two months after the first general vote the irreconcilable minority-element forced a re-opening of the question on the occasion of electing a fraternal delegate to the National Convention of the S. T. & L. A. There was again an extensive discussion; only it became more acrimonious, as was to be expected. The result was a confirmation of the former vote in favor of the S. T. & L. A.

Two general votes should have amply satisfied everybody. The irreconcilable opponents of the S. T. & L. A. were not willing to acquiesce. Under various claims they continued not only to oppose, but to obstruct the carrying out of the policy twice affirmed. One of these claims was that Section New York alone could not determine so important a question, but that it must be passed upon by the whole party of the United States; that therefore the matter was to be considered in abeyance until the National Convention of the party should have decided and until that decision had been passed upon by a general vote of the whole party.

The National Convention met in July, 1896, and by a vote of 71 against 6 endorsed the Alliance, calling upon the party members "to carry the revolutionary spirit of the S. T. & L. A. into all the organizations of the workers." This resolution was, like all other decisions of the National Convention, passed upon by the entire membership of the party, and it was ratified by an almost unanimous vote, only 64 votes being cast against it throughout the country.

Section New York, voting for the third time on this question in the year 1896, cast ONLY TWO negative votes.

Did the irreconcilable minority element now think it proper to fall in line? On the contrary. That element now adopted the policy, which is generally the last resort of a disloyal and desperate opposition, namely to bother and weary the majority to the point of making it knuckle under to the minority.

These tactics became apparent on almost all questions on which a difference of opinion arose in the section. Such differences—natural in themselves and not at all harmful—were widened by the injection of the Alliance question.

The party officers, the committees and all who were charged with carrying out the policy of the party were stigmatized as a "machine," as "bosses," and everything that was done in line with the will of the majority was denounced, no matter how useful or needful it might be for the party. The organization of Section Greater New York, which was made necessary by the law creating the Greater New York municipality, was descried as "a scheme to fasten the rule of a clique" upon the party. Every step taken by the majority to make the new organization effective was impeded.

When the plan of organization was discussed, the majority of the members recognized from the start that general section meetings would not only be impracticable but impossible.

Such general meetings had become impracticable in the old sections, both of New York and Kings County. In both sections the general meetings had, with the growth of the membership, become less and less representative. They were attended by but a small fraction of the membership, made up either from those subdivisions located in the immediate vicinity of the meeting place or from some element in the party particularly interested in a pending question and brought to the meeting for the purpose of packing it. The non-representative character of the section meetings and their liability to being packed had, even before the organization of Section Greater New York, led the old Section New York to decide on a change contemplating the substitution of a delegated body for the general meeting.

In the enlarged sphere of a section extending over several counties general meetings would necessarily be still more exposed to the play of accident and intrigue, still more non-representative and undemocratic. If the meetings of the old Section New York were seldom attended by more than 100 members (out of a total of 1,100) and those of Kings County seldom by more than 40 (out of a total of 400), a joint section meeting could not be expected to attract more than 120 members. And as many of those, in attendance leave before protracted debates come to a close, decisions affecting 1,500 members would be left to a minority of 50 or 60 members, largely consisting of those living most closely to the meeting place.

There could be no doubt that a delegated body of 130, not selected by accident but by the choice of all the branches of the section, was a more democratic party meeting than any of the so-called general meetings held for years by either of our two principal sections. And it was so recognized by the overwhelming majority vote cast in favor of a delegated body.

The superiority of the General Committee over the old section meetings in dealing with serious party matters was demonstrated in the case of the Jewish "Vorwärts" conspiracy, which had been organized by Cahan, Miller, Winchewski and Zametkin, because of their inability to secure control of the Hebrew party press. Those conspirators had, since the spring of 1896, kept the old section New York in constant disturbances which had later on begun to extend to Brooklyn. The section meetings, the Central Committee and a number of Assembly Districts were prevented through this conspiracy from doing their proper party work. And it was this conspiracy that had first given a demonstration of the ease with which general section meetings can be packed.

The General Committee could not be packed, it could not be prevented from handling the affair in an orderly and decisive manner. Two meetings of the General Committee and a thorough exposure of the conspiracy through the investigation of the Executive Committee relieved the party of this disturbance. Had the section been compelled to deal with this matter in general meetings, the prolongation of the disturbance and great injury to the movement would have been inevitable.

The conspirators found no support among the rest of the membership except on the part of the disloyal element that would under no circumstances be reconciled to the party's affiliation with the Alliance. This element gave the conspirators all the encouragement it could. In the districts where this element predominated resolutions were put through calculated to create the impression that the conspirators were being treated unjustly and that a large portion of the membership was in sympathy with them. And this element was by no means satisfied, when it became apparent that the disposition made of the conspiracy by the General Committee was received with approval by the membership.

On the contrary, the determined stand taken by the majority of the members in behalf of a strict adherence to party principles, party policy and party discipline, appeared to make the party still more damnable in the eyes of that minority and caused it to go a step further in its disloyalty—always under the pretence of democracy.

It formed an organization to attack the party from outside. This organization—the so-called Mohren-Club—brought out more clearly the make-up and the aims of the opposition. Its vicious nucleus could now be located in the same districts which had given most encouragement to the Jewish "Vorwärts" conspirators, namely, the twenty-fourth, the thirty-second and the twenty-third Assembly districts in New York County. It was in this club that Julius Dolinski, who had been only a few months in this country, first made himself known as a reckless traducer of the party, as a violent opponent of the party's policy and as an ally of the party's enemies. How far he and Ingermann and their supporters were willing to go in antagonizing the party, was shown not only by the speeches they made in the Mohren-Club, but by their open affiliation in this club with avowed enemies of the party, including Debsites, Labor Fakirs and Anarchists. (One of the principal Mohren-Club spokesmen, Carl Arnold, has just been discovered in the primary-enrollment list, entered as a Democrat.) It became apparent that the purpose of these men was to estrange as many members from the party as possible. They tried to create a sentiment in favor of the Debs party. They slandered the party's officers, they misrepresented the doings of the General Committee. And as a means to further their ends, they enlisted national prejudice by telling the German comrades that they were being deprived of their proper influence in the management of the party through the use of the English language in the meetings of the General Committee.

The same warfare against the party was also carried into the Assembly Districts, where the disloyal element was represented; and these districts were used to supplement the work of the Mohren-Club by undermining the party from within.

How these districts were made to serve as outposts of the party's enemies, was shown by the manner in which the last general vote on the Alliance question was brought about. The demand for this vote originated at a meeting of the Thirty-second Assembly District, and the reason given for again opening this question (that had been voted on three times in the preceding year) was the alleged misconduct of the Alliance in chartering a printer's union. The Thirty-second Assembly District derived its false opinion on this matter from a slandering circular of Typographical Union No. 7. The circular was even endorsed by the District, although its contents were directed not only against the Alliance, but against the party and the party's press. The action of the District was instigated by Dolinski, who is a member of Typographical Union No. 7.

A new general vote upon a policy established by the whole party as the party policy was in itself a disloyal action. It would have been scandalous, if Section New York had placed itself in opposition to the national party. But the general vote was also a useless waste of time, because there was no prospect of the vote having any other result but the confirmation of the three previous votes.

The whole proceeding could serve no purpose but to throw the party's policy again in doubt, to furnish a new pretext for a refusal of the disloyal element to acknowledge it, to give new occasions for violent attacks on it, to rekindle sleeping dissensions and cause ill-feeling.

Under the circumstances all this should have been avoided as injurious and senseless. The party should have refused to re-open the question. But it had to be undergone. The General Committee devoted two meetings to the question (occasioning neglect of other business for which it was denounced by the very element that had opened the discussion); and after the General Committee had, by a large majority, refused to change the policy so repeatedly affirmed, the debate had to be carried into all the subdivisions of the Section. After occupying the Section about three months, the question was once more settled by an overwhelming refusal to make a change.

While this debating and voting was going on, the disloyal element was working its double mine, the one outside and the one inside the party, in charming harmony. They attacked the party's policy in the Mohren-Club and they attacked it in the party meetings.

It was on one of these occasions when Dolinski committed the flagrant misconduct that led to the proceedings taken against him.

Dolinski, while speaking on the party's platform at a public meeting on the West Side, called to gain members for the party, made an attack upon the management of the party, which produced so disagreeable an impression, that Comrade Meyer, the chairman of the meeting, then and there rebuked Dolinski and that Comrade Mittelberg brought the facts to the attention of the Executive Committee.

The Executive Committee ordered charges to be preferred against Dolinski, and these charges were tried by the Grievance Committee. After a full trial, the Grievance Committee reported its findings to the General Committee to the effect that Dolinski was guilty of the breach of discipline charged against him, in that he had both at the meetings of the Mohren Club and at the West Side party meeting publicly attacked the party. After hearing this report and after a thorough discussion of the same, the General Committee decided that Dolinski be suspended from the party for one year.

This decision was adopted by a vote of more than three-fourths of the delegates present at the General Committee and the minority was by no means of the opinion that Dolinski's conduct was blameless. The facts laid before the General Committee left but very few in doubt as to the fact that Dolinski deserved being disciplined; wherein the minority differed from the majority, was the measure of punishment, the minority holding that a slighter punishment would be sufficient. The judgment was not predicated on one occurrence alone. Dolinski's remarks at the West Side meeting might have been overlooked as an act of momentary thoughtlessness, if that fact had stood alone. But Dolinski's activity in the Mohren Club and some of his statements before the Grievance Committee showed that he was of a spirit of impudent insubordination. These statements were to the effect that he would not allow himself to be dictated to and that, no matter what the party's decision would be, he would continue to criticize the party in public.

Dolinski's conduct subsequent to his suspension confirmed the impression given of his character by these statements.

Instead of taking the steps provided by our constitution for reviewing the decision of a Section (i. e., appeal to the Board of Appeals), he has sought to cause disturbance, to induce Branches of the Section to likewise violate the party discipline, and he has more openly than ever hostilized the party. Among acts of the latter category we will mention here that at a meeting called by the Debsites he appeared on the platform of a public meeting together with James Carey, who had been branded as a traitor to the party by the National Executive Committee. He also, at a meeting of his union, Typographical Union No. 7, opposed the acceptance of an invitation from the party to participate in the May-day demonstration, and by his attacks on the party, he was instrumental in bringing about the decision of that Union not to participate. And more recently he signed his name, as Secretary of the Mohren Club, to a scurrilous leaflet attacking the party.

The almost unanimous opinion of the delegates to the General Committee as to Dolinski's guilt should have ended the incident as long as Dolinski did not mean to avail himself of his right of appeal. That, notwithstanding this, the case has occupied a good deal of the attention of the members, is largely due to the attitude of the disloyal element previously characterized.

That element used this case as a means to continue its policy of obstruction. It raised the charge of tyranny against the General Committee, claiming that the General Committee was not equivalent to a Section meeting and had therefore no right to suspend members. The claim was palpably groundless; because, if it were otherwise, there could have been no Section Greater New York, that Section being unable to hold general section meetings; if the claim was true, the General Committee could not admit members and could not have suspended members, as it did, without protest, in the cases of Blumler and Baldischweiler, who were suspended in July, 1897, and of Krinski, who was suspended in January, 1898.

But the element that used this claim as a weapon of attack against the General Committee, did not care whether the claim was well founded or not. If it had cared about having that constitutional question properly decided it would have caused an appeal to be taken to the National Board of Appeals. That method would have done away with any further wrangling about the question, and the element in question was not anxious to avoid wrangling. The case was forced to a general vote of the section, and this vote, which the members are now called upon to take, will not settle the legal question whether under the party's constitution the General Committee is authorized to suspend, but it will simply settle the correctness of the punishment adjudged against Dolinski.

But while the said element was denouncing the alleged violation of the constitution by the General Committee, it showed that it did not itself feel any respect for the constitution.

The Twenty-fourth Assembly District, which is dominated by Ingermann and the Mohren Club element, insolently violated Article 2, Sec. 11, of the constitution, forbidding any Section or Branch of the party to extend the privileges of membership to a suspended member. The District invited Dolinski to speak at a public meeting under its auspices, and the motion, when made by Ingermann, was accompanied with the remark that it was necessary to show defiance to the General Committee.

When the Executive Committee was informed of this action, it called a special meeting of the Twenty-fourth Assembly District and delegated four of its members to explain to the District the impropriety of its conduct. The delegation of the Executive Committee appeared at the special meeting so called and pointed out that the District might express its disapproval of Dolinski's suspension by either causing an appeal to be taken to the National Board of Appeals or by securing a sufficient support for a demand for a general vote. The spokesmen of the majority of the District answered in an abusive manner, telling our delegation that they did not care to adopt any such method but claimed the right to ignore the decision of the General Committee. The members showed during the debate that they had been wrought up in their spirit of disloyalty to such a point that they did not care whether they were expelled from the party, some saying that that—suspension or expulsion—is what they wanted.

The Executive Committee submitted these facts to the General Committee, and when a debate was then had, a delegate from the Twenty-fourth District boldly asserted that the District would persist in its defiant attitude and that it was justified. The General Committee thereupon suspended the Twenty-fourth District.

The case was so plain that this decision must be recognized by all intelligent members to have been the only action that was compatible with the discipline and the dignity of the party.

In a later meeting of the General Committee a sufficient number of subdivisions demanded a general vote upon the suspension of the Twenty-fourth District. At the same time it was decided to give the suspendel district a chance to explain its side of the case at the expense of the Section, for which purpose the district might use two octavo pages in print. The district gave a new demonstration of its spirit, when it was notified to send in its explanation. Instead of doing so, it sent the following reply:

NEW YORK CITY, April 15, 1898.

To the City Executive Committee, Section Greater New York, S. L. P.

We herewith acknowledge receipt of your communication of April 5th, according to which the District is permitted to submit an explanation of our affair. Referring to the above we would state that it seems to us very strange that such a request should be put to us, after we have, without receiving a hearing, been sentenced; that is, unlawfully suspended by a decree of the General Committee. Had our case been submitted to the proper authorities, and had these authorities put up a well-founded charge, we would gladly have taken advantage of the opportunity to defend ourselves. We hold fast to our demand: let us have the charge, and the defence will be there! Why were we thus unlawfully suspended? Because we invited an old party member, Dolinsky, who was likewise unlawfully suspended, to hold a speech.

We do not believe that this was a breach of the constitution of the party, but we do believe that districts should be allowed a little more freedom in the arranging of their agitation and discussion meetings, and in the selection of their speakers.

By authority of the 24th Assembly District,
ANDREW BREY, Sec'y.

This letter is simply a piece of impudence. The District was not only aware of the breach of discipline charged against it, but it sent a new delegate to the General Committee with the special instruction to affirm the adhesion of the District to its attitude of defiance.

More recently two other districts dominated by the disloyal element have shown their utter disregard of the interests and decisions of the party. Both the Thirty-second and the Twenty-third Districts have openly taken the stand that they will rather have none of the party than have the party with its present policy.

The Thirty-second Assembly District not only repeated the breach of discipline for which the Twenty-fourth District had been suspended, but it openly declared its sympathy with the party's enemies. On March 21, 1898, a report, sent in by the Secretary, appeared in the N. Y. "Volkszeitung," giving an account of the proceedings of the business-meeting of the Thirty-second District, held on March 19. It appeared that most of the time of this meeting had been devoted to motions expressing hostility to the party. Three motions of this character were adopted: firstly, a motion to extend to Dolinski the privilege of representing the party on its platform, at a public meeting of the District; secondly, a motion was carried not to recognize a decision of the General Committee, forbidding members of the party to assist in the work of the Mohren Club; and, thirdly, the District voted to lay upon the table 10 tickets of Section Denver, the sale of which was urged by the General Committee in behalf of our Western sister section. The spirit of the majority was well characterized by the different attitude they assumed on one hand towards the organization of fellow-members and on the other towards the combination of enemies. While they treated the Denver party section with insulting antipathy, some of the majority boastingly proclaimed their affiliation with the Mohren Club and their determination to continue the same, no matter what the party would do. They were warned that by their action on Dolinski and the Mohren Club they were inviting suspension, and they answered that they would like to see that done.

The action of the Thirty-second Assembly District was laid before the General Committee and a very full discussion was there had on the matter, in the course of which the correctness of the facts reported was confirmed by the District's delegate. After the debate the Executive Committee was directed to make a further investigation, and, if the District was found guilty of the acts of defiance reported, the Executive Committee was authorized to suspend the District.

The Executive Committee first called upon the officers of the District organization to appear before it and give what explanation or information they might have to give about the case. The officers refused to appear, claiming that they could not give information to the Executive Committee, unless the District gave them permission. This position was clearly wrong; members and more particularly officers of the subdivisions are bound to assist the Executive Committee in any investigation it may make, irrespective of what their District may say about it. But the Committee, in order to meet any future excuse, gave the District an opportunity to decide as to whether its officers should answer the call of the Executive Committee. The District defiantly declared that there was nothing to investigate; but if any information was wanted, the Executive Committee might come to the meetings of the District. Only two members of the District appeared of their own accord.

The Committee heard the testimony of these and other witnesses; but before coming to a decision, it wished to give the District one more opportunity either to justify itself or change its attitude. We went to the trouble of sending a sub-committee to a meeting of the District. The experience was the same as in the case of the Twenty-fourth District. The majority re-affirmed their previous actions, boastingly asserted their right to defy any decisions of the General Committee that they considered invalid and showed their utter recklessness as to the results their action might bring about. Some repeated in the presence of the Committee the statement that they would not mind being suspended, that on the contrary they would like to see the suspension of the District ordered.

What is at the bottom of these statements, is apparent from the evidence at hand of the disloyal purposes of the element in control of the Thirty-second District as well as of the Twenty-fourth. One of the leaders of this element in the Thirty-second District, Joseph Cohen, was proven to have boasted that he merely came into the party for the purpose of bringing members of our party over to the Debs party. It was also shown that the membership is constantly under Debsite influences through the Mount Morris Educational Club, which was originally formed to provide a club house and headquarters for the party, but which is now officered and controlled by Debsites.

The direct influence of the Mohren Club on the District was illustrated by the manner in which the District was used to come to the assistance of Rudolph Modest, a notorious enemy of the party and associate of Fakirs and Anarchists. When the General Committee demanded the removal of this Modest from the Board of Trustees of the "Volkszeitung" Publishing Association on the ground that his election was a menace to the interests of the party, the Thirty-second Assembly District published a denunciation of the General Committee for interfering with the Publishing Association in an action that was proper.

The intrigues of this element kept the district busy antagonizing the party and left no time, even if there had been any inclination, for proper party work.

After obtaining such evidence, the Executive Committee suspended the Thirty-second District, as it had been authorized to do by the General Committee. No action towards reorganization was taken, however, until after the suspension had been ratified by the General Committee. This was done, by almost a unanimous vote (only a few delegates voting in the negative) on May 28th, whereupon a call for re-organization was published on June 2nd.

This suspension has also been ordered to be submitted to a general vote, and the suspended District has been allowed to have a statement of its case published together with the statement of the Executive Committee. The statement of the District was sent in in German, of which we herewith submit a translation:

June 11, 1898.

To the Members of the Socialist Labor Party.

Comrades:—

As against the procedure of the party management, the Thirty-second Assembly District feels impelled to place before the party members the following declaration in justification of our action.

When Comrade Dolinsky, a member of the Thirty-second Assembly District, was, in February, suspended for one year by the General Committee, we, as a branch, expected that this would be done in accordance with the constitution until then in force.

According to the clause of the constitution bearing upon this, which constitution was adopted by the convention of 1897, the General Committee has no authority to decree suspension, but can only recommend it. It would, therefore, have been the duty of the General Committee to submit this decision to a General vote in the form of a motion, instead of peremptorily imposing the same.

It is also demanded by another clause of the constitution of 1897, that the election of the Executive Committee and of the organizer, he had every six months through a general vote (as in the case of the National Executive Committee), but in no case as is done now through the delegated body of the Central Committee of Section Greater New York.

But since we are not—any more than any other branch—in possession of the constitution in question, because it was never sent to the districts after the adoption of the proposed clauses, we can only fall back upon it by means of hypothetical indications.

How sad is it that a Socialist organization is not even in possession of its own constitution!

The party management evidently sought to apply Section 10 of the national constitution of 1896 to the Dolinsky case, where indeed it is said: "...... a simple majority at a business meeting shall be sufficient to suspend."

We then requested the General Committee—again in accordance with the constitution—and in conjunction with three other Assembly Districts for a general vote. When after some time no steps were taken in this direction, the Thirty-second Assembly District resolved of course not to recognize the suspension so long as the constitution was not lived up to, for we are of the opinion that we have in the party neither bureaucrats nor out-lawed members.

When later on the Thirty-second Assembly District arranged for an agitation meeting, Comrade Dolinsky was chosen as the speaker.

Thereupon followed, on April 20, a rescript of the General Committee in which we were requested to send delegates to the City Executive Committee, to represent the district at the investigation of this action. At the same time we were informed, to the astonishment of all, that there was also a charge against us because of our connection with the Mohren Club. We replied that as a branch we had nothing to do with it, and in regard to Dolinsky there was nothing to investigate, as it was a fact that he had been invited as a speaker. Otherwise we instructed our delegates to the General Committee to insist upon the enforcement of the constitution.

In May the investigation took place in our district by Comrades Fiebiger and Moren.

The district declared that not they, but the General Committee, were acting contrary to the constitution, and that until the constitution was enforced, they would insist upon their standpoint. Our attitude towards the Social Democracy of America—which was also ventilated—was explained that we, as members of the S. L. P., desired that if criticism be applied to this young and active party, it be done in a magnanimous manner.

On June 4th, the district was officially notified that the General Committee had resolved to submit the suspension and reorganization of the Thirty-second Assembly District to a general vote together with an explanatory statement by the said district.

And as the Thirty-second Assembly District makes moderate use of this, we would, en passant, and as an illustration, call to the attention of the party members, that we have already been officially expelled, or dissolved, by the Executive Committee and disfranchised in this vote, and that on June 5th and 6th, a call of the organizer appeared in the "Volkszeitung," decreeing the reorganization of the Thirty-second Assembly District.

Pay attention, comrades: While or even before the action of the Thirty-second Assembly District is submitted to you for examination and decision, the Executive Committee executes the final verdict. According to all conceptions of justice hitherto in vogue, the case in question must remain in status quo—i. e., in its former condition—until the general vote—the jury—have decided. With the maneuvers accomplished by the Executive Committee, one involuntarily thinks of the absolute state with the beautiful motto: Sic volo, sic jubeo (Thus I will it, thus I order).

May the party members pass a cool and unbiased judgment upon the standpoint taken by the Thirty-second Assembly District in the best understanding of loyalty to the constitution and the principle of solidarity.

With Socialist greeting,
THE THIRTY-SECOND ASSEMBLY DISTRICT.

As the comrades will perceive, the District repeats its previous contention that it has a right to defy decisions of the General Committee, if—according to the District's opinion—they are unconstitutional. At the same time the District complains that it does not know what the constitution is. In its ignorance it might claim anything to be unconstitutional that it may dislike. The District assumes, f. i., that the election of officers by the General Committee is unconstitutional; according to its contention, it therefore has a right to ignore the Organizer and the Executive Committee as not rightfully elected and to disregard every action they take. If members were denied the right of thus acting on their individual assumption and interpretation, they would be—according to the Thirty-second—"outlawed."

That position is selfevidently absurd. Decisions of the whole section can only be overruled either by the whole section or by a superior body, which we have in the National Board of Appeals.

The point made to the effect that the by-laws were not accessible to the Districts is wrong in fact. After the by-laws had been adopted, they were published in the party press. Information about them could also have been obtained from the General Committee or from the Executive Committee. But the Thirty-second District apparently preferred its assumption about the by-laws; it made no effort to inform itself about them.

The other matters contained in the statement of the District are irrelevant and partly incorrect. After what we had said before, our comrades can form their own judgment.

The last of the openly disloyal Districts is the Twenty-Third, in regard to which no action has been taken. But since attempts are made to alarm the party members over the great loss that would be involved in taking action against these insubordinate sub-divisions, we might state one fact. The majority of the Twenty-third has sought to procure the withdrawal of the District from the party. This plan was, however, abandoned for the time being and instead a club was organized, to which the property of the District is gradually being transferred. The library has already been transferred, $25 from the treasury have been donated to the club, leaving but little for the purposes of the party. The District has been ordered by the General Committee to reconsider this illegal disposal of the party's property, but the district disregards the party's authority.

The facts here outlined clearly bring out the character of the opposition with which we have had to deal. They show that it was a disloyal opposition, the opposition of a minority unwilling to either actively comply with the expressed will of the party or to even passively accept the same; an opposition determined to do everything in its power towards preventing the party from working according to the majority's will. It is shown to be a minority with which there can be no peace except by the majority bowing to its will and abandoning its own policy.

How shall such a minority be treated? Shall its tactics of obstruction be allowed to be successful? Shall the national party policy be overthrown? Shall Section New York place itself in open rebellion to the national party? Shall the majority of its members who are true to that policy trample it under foot, in order to reconcile this minority?

It is obvious that nothing would be gained by such yielding, while a good deal would be lost.

Nothing would be gained, because the opposition has no programme except to prevent the party from following out its uncompromising revolutionary policy. Being allied with the party's enemies, the trade-union fakirs and the would-be Socialist political fakirs, the opposition solely aims to hinder the party from attacking these enemies. It has no plan of action to propose, unless the purely abstract preaching of Socialist ideas, to which the party confined itself during the eighties, can be called a plan of action. At the time when that course was followed (a time to which the opposition sometimes points as the glorious age of the party) the party was in a state of inaction and gave so little promise of progress that it was looked upon by most of its own members as a mere preparatory school for the real Socialist party of America to be born in the future. Is any sensible Socialist anxious to undo the work done in the last eight years of vigorous attack on all things and all men standing in our way and to return to the previous period of humiliation?

But while nothing would be gained by yielding to this minority, much would be lost. The party would show its incapacity to carry out any policy, its inability to enforce the majority rule. And such an exhibition would necessarily make it impossible for the party not only to maintain any confidence among the working class at large, but to maintain the zeal and vigor of its own membership. The conciliation of these disloyal few would cause many loyal comrades to retire in disgust from active party work, as has already been the case in every one of the districts which fell under the sway of the disloyal minority.

If then the opposition is of such a character that any yielding to it cannot be thought of, is it sensible to give it any encouragement by a lack of determination to deal with it vigorously? Is it sensible to proceed in a way that would lead such an element to suppose that it might succeed in bothering the majority into submission, if it would only go far enough and be noisy enough in its policy of bothering? Is it sensible to permit this bothering to go on unchecked until it really begins to disturb the whole membership?

That is certainly not a sensible way of dealing with disloyal tendencies. It is on the contrary to be recognized that such tendencies will be least likely to creep into an organization or become harmful where they have the least hope of even the temporary success of causing disturbance and disquiet.

On looking back over the last two years our comrades must admit that the disloyal element in Greater New York has been given too much chance for causing disturbance and disquiet. And that was due firstly to some of our local by-laws that are capable of great abuse, and secondly to the weakness of some of our loyal members who hesitated to prevent such abuse.

We think the time has now come when the party must put its foot down upon this weakness that inevitably plays into the hands of disturbers.

Internal troubles cannot be prevented, but their annoying effects can be circumscribed in the narrowest limits compatible with the rights of each member.

All considerations of fairness will be satisfied if charges of misconduct are investigated, and after investigation receive one thorough discussion in the party. After such discussion, which is possible only in the General Committee, the matter should there be finally decided and ended, as far as the Section is concerned. If that decision is not satisfactory to the party or parties, against whom it was rendered, there may be an appeal to the National Board of Appeals. Thus the Section will be relieved of all further disturbance, and the decision of last resort will be looked forward to without the bitterness which is inseparable from the canvass of all the Branches for the purpose of a general vote. This course is furthermore the only one which will bring constitutional questions to an authoritative determination.

We, therefore, recommend the adoption of a by-law, to the effect, that in all matters of discipline the decision of the General Committee, whether ordering suspension or expulsion, shall be final and remain in force, until reversed by the National Board of Appeals on an appeal taken to the same.

We furthermore think that it is necessary to protect the Section against the abuse of the referendum for mere purposes of obstruction. The present law, which enables three branches to force a general vote upon the party, makes it possible for a very small number of disloyal men to constantly keep in abeyance the policies and resolutions adopted by the majority. The members will realize the dangers of that provision, if we remind them of the fact that more than thirty of the Branches of Section Greater New York average an attendance at their meetings of less than ten members, so that 15 members, evenly distributed, would control three Branches and could bring to a general vote a proposition, which finds no support whatever among the rest of the 1,500 members of the Section. The very fact that such a possibility exists encourages obstructionists. We think that any demand for referendum should require the support of at least one-fifth of the Branches of the Section. This minimum, which at present means 12 Branches, can be secured for any meritorious proposition.

These are the considerations and recommendations which we have deemed it our duty to urge upon the membership of the Section. We leave them to its action, trusting that the course will be adopted which; we are thoroughly convinced, is imperatively demanded for the welfare of the party.

The Assembly District organizations, Ward organizations and Branches are called upon, to take a vote upon each of the following questions and report the vote to the undersigned organizer not later than July 23rd, 1898, stating in each case the number of members voting "Yes" and of those voting "No."

1.—Shall the suspension of Julius Dolinski be upheld?

2.—Shall the suspension of the Twenty-fourth Assembly District be upheld?

3.—Shall the suspension of the Thirty-second Assembly District be upheld?

The City Executive Committee of Section Greater New York, S. L. P.
L. ABELSON, Organizer,
64 East 4th street, New York City.

Dated New York, June 20, 1898.

THE DAILY PEOPLE
$50,000 FUND.

Amount Pledged down to July 6th, 1898.

$4,575.

☞ Pledgers will please keep in mind the dates on which their payments fall due, as per printed list, and remit promptly. If any error appears on the list, correct with equal promptness.

THE DAILY PEOPLE COMMITTEE.
184 William St., N. Y.

A Call.

The Sections of the S. L. P., located within the territory of Greater New York, are hereby called upon to make nominations for two members of the National Executive Committee, in place of Comrades Thomas A. Hickey and Charles G. Teche, who have resigned, the former because he is constantly on the road; the latter because he is going to Europe for several months. Organizers of Sections should submit this matter to their respective Sections at the next regular meeting and report the nominations made to the undersigned not later than Saturday, July 16, 1898, after which day the nominations will be submitted to a vote of the foregoing Sections.

By order of the National Executive Committee, S. L. P.
HENRY KUHN, Secy.

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Workingmen's Sick & Death Benefit Ass., Branch 17, East New York.
Quarterly General Meeting on Wednesday, July 13th, at 8 p. m., in Hotz-Lohmann's Park, Liberty Ave. & Wyona St. Members failing to attend will be fined 25c. By order:
THE OFFICERS.

Workmen's Children Death Benefit Fund of the United States of America.
The address of the Financial Secretary of the Executive Committee is:
Reinhard Lachner, 13 Bible House, Room 42, Astor Place, N. Y. City, N. Y.
Office hours: Monday and Friday, 1—8 o'clock P. M.—Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Saturday, 8—12 A. M. and 1—5.30 P. M.

Trades and Societies Calendar.

Standing advertisements of Trades Unions and other Societies (not exceeding five lines) will be inserted under this heading hereafter at the rate of $5.00 per annum.
Organizations should not lose such an opportunity of advertising their places of meetings.

Carl Sahm Club (Musicians Union). Meetings every Tuesday at 10 a. m., at 64 East 4th street, New York Labor Lyceum. Business Secretary: Frei.

Central Labor Federation of New York (S. T. & L. A., D. A. No. 1). Meets at 2.30 every Sunday afternoon at 64 East 4th street, New York City. All bona-fide trade and labor Unions should be represented. Communications are to be sent to the corresponding Secretary, Ernest Bohm, 64 East 4th street, New York City.

Cigarmakers' Progressive International Union No. 90. Office and Employment Bureau: 64 East 4th street.—District I (Bohemian), 324 East 71st street, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District II (German), at 213 Forsyth St., meets every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District III, meets at 1527 avenue A, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District IV, meets at 342 West 42nd street, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—The Board of Supervisors meets every Tuesday at 1422 2nd avenue, at 8 p. m.

Empire City Lodge (Machinists), meets every 2d and 4th Wednesday evening at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East 4th street.
273 Secretary: PETER STAPLE.

German Waiters' Union of New York. Office: 385 Bowery, Union Hall, 1st floor. Meetings every Friday at 4 p. m. Board of Supervisors meets every Wednesday at 4 p. m. at the same hall.

Musical Protective Alliance No. 1068, D. A. 49, S. T. & L. A., Headquarters 79 E. 4th street. Meetings every Friday at 11 o'clock noon. Fred. Hartmann, Pres.; Fred. Woll, corr. Sec'y, 79 E. 4th St. J. S. Kringa, Business agent.

Metal Spinners Union of New York and Vicinity meets every second and last Friday in the month at 8½ o'clock at 231-233 E. 38d Street.

Section Essex County, S. L. P., meets the first Sunday in each month at 3 p. m. in the hall of "Essex County Socialist Club," 78 Springfield Ave., Newark, N. J.

Skandinavian Section, S. L. P. Meets 2nd and 4th Sunday of every month at 10.30 o'clock a.m., at Teutonia Assembly Rooms, 158—160 3. Ave., New York City. Subscription orders taken for the Scand. Socialist Weekly, SCAND. AM. ARBETAREN.

Socialist Science Club, S. L. P., 34th & 35th A. D. S. E. Cor. of 3d Av. and 149th St. Open every evening. Regular business meeting every Friday.

Progressive Clothing Cutters & Trimmers Union, L. A. 68 of S. T. & L. A.—Headquarters, 64 East 4th street, Labor Lyceum.—Regular meeting every Thursday evening, at 8 P. M.

The Socialist Educational Society of Yorkville meets every Monday evening at 206 E. 86th St. This Society aims to educate its members to a thorough knowledge of Socialism by means of discussions and debates. Come and join.

Arbeiter Kranken- und Sterbe-Kasse für die Ver. Staaten von Amerika.

WORKMEN'S Sick and Death Benefit Fund of the United States of America.

The above society was founded in the year 1884 by workingmen imbued with the spirit of solidarity and socialist thought. Its numerical strength (at present composed of 155 local branches with more than 16,000 male members) is rapidly increasing among workingmen who believe in the principles of the modern labor movement. Workingmen between 18 and 45 years of age may be admitted to membership in any of the branches, upon payment of a deposit of $4.00 for the first class and $2.00 for the second class. Members belonging to the first class are entitled to a sick benefit of $9.00 for 40 weeks and of $4.50 for another 40 weeks whether continuous or with interruption. Members belonging to the second class receive under the same circumstances and length of time $6.00 and $3.00 respectively. A burial benefit of $250.00 is granted for every member, and the wives and unmarried daughters of members between 18 and 45 years of age may be admitted to the burial benefit upon payment of a deposit of $1.00. Monthly taxes are levied according to expenditures. In cities and towns where no branch exists, a new branch can be formed by 25 workingmen in good health, and men adhering to the above principles are invited to do so.
Address all communications to HENRY STAHL, Financial Secretary, 25—27 3rd avenue, Room 53, New York City.

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For addresses of the Branch-bookkeepers, see "Vorwärts."

MORRIS HILLQUIT, Attorney at Law,
320 Broadway, Telephone: 171 Franklin.

H. B. SALISBURY, Attorney-at-Law.
Office for Consultation (Tuesday to Friday, 11 to 5) 50 Union Square, (offices of Workingmen's Co-operative Insurance Ass'n, etc.) New York.

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